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THE
MILITARY HISTORY
OF
CHARLES XII.

King of SWEDEN,

Written by the express Order of his Majesty,
By M. GUSTAVUS ADLERFELD,

CHAMBERLAIN to the KING.

To which is added,

An exact Account of the Battle of *Pultowa*,
with a JOURNAL of the KING's
Retreat to *Bender*.

Illustrated with Plans of the Battles and Sieges.

Translated into ENGLISH.

V O L. III.



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MILITARY HISTORY

OF

CHARLES XII.

KING OF SWEDEN

By M. GUSTAFSSON

Commander in Chief



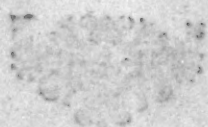
An exact Account of the Battle of Poltava,
With a Journal of the King's

March to Berlin

Illustrated with Plans of the Battle of Poltava

Translated into English

By J. H. P.



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THE
LIFE and HISTORY
OF
CHARLES XII.
KING of
SWEDEN.

THE Czar, on repeated advices of the King's march, was returned the tenth of *January* from *Moscow* to *Minsk*, whence he had conveyed himself to *Grodno*, to consult on the means of disputing at least the pass of *Niemen*; tho' he had not been able to prevent us, in defiance of so many obstacles, from penetrating so far into a country, which was so difficult to pass through.

The King of *Sweden* knew not that the Czar was so near him. We had advice only that his infantry, which was forty thousand strong, was extended from the other side of *Niemen*, from *Kaven* to *Urfa*; and that his cavalry, consisting of thirty thousand men, was distributed from *Tykozin* and *Grodno* to *Novogradeck*. Prince *Menzikof*, who commanded all these troops, was quartered in a castle near the first of these towns.

As to the army of the Confederates of *Lublin*, commanded by *Siniawski*, we knew it was at *Wlodowa* in the black *Russia* on the *Bug*; so

that it could by no means assist the *Muscovites*.

The King having taken six hundred of his Horse-Guards, with a small detachment of *Hielm's* dragoons, and being attended by the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, Count *Rheinschild*, and some other Generals, advanced in the evening to the bridge of *Grodno*, which is on the *Niemen*, to reconnoitre it; and found that it was defended by someworks, secured by cannon and a detachment of *Russian* dragoons. He attacked them with such vigour, that they turned their backs on the first shock, and were pursued under the walls of *Grodno*.

The night having put a stop to his Majesty's undertakings, he passed it in the open field, thoroughly resolved to attack the enemy in the morning by the break of day.

The same day our *Valoches* encountered with a party of the enemy, consisting of seventy horse, and drove them fighting to the bridge of *Grodno*, which they expecting to pass, fell into the King's hands, and forty of them were cut to pieces; the remaining thirty, with the Lieutenant who commanded them, named *Venediger*, obtained quarter by his Majesty's orders.

In the night a great noise was heard in the town, which made us imagine, those within were attempting a flight. In reality, the *Czar*, who thrice in twenty-four hours had had his coach ready at the door of the cloyster where he lodged, to retire in case of an attack, thinking that the whole *Swedish* army was at hand, departed hastily in the morning at the break of day, with Prince *Menzikof* and his Court, and took

The King himself killed with a pistol, the other with led two Officers, the one a sword.

took the road to *Wilna*. The King of *Sweden* having successfully passed the ice very early, entered the town, which the enemy had abandoned two hours before, and took possession of it. After this expedition, his Majesty sent orders to the rest of the army to hasten and join him.

The Czar being advertised by some of those who fled, what a small number of *Swedes* had given such a panick to the town, and had driven him to depart with such precipitation, and that the King of *Sweden* was there in person, sent back presently Brigadier *Mublenfeld* with three thousand horse, to retake the town, and bring off that Prince. They arrived in the night, and instantly attacked the bridge with much fury; but the guard, which was awake, sustained the redoubled efforts of the enemy with such valour, that it gave time to the Picket to advance, and the rest of the troops to draw together, to the repulse of the enemy, who was at last dispersed, put to flight, and pursued for some time.

We had but one man killed, and one wounded in this encounter; whereas the loss of the enemy was considerable: besides which, the *Valoches* who pursued them at the break of day, returned with many prisoners.

The Prince of *Wurtemberg* and Count *Rheinschild* narrowly escaped being taken by the enemy, in the beginning of the action; their courage in the darkness of the night having carried them into the middle of the *Muscovites*, from whence however they very successfully disengaged themselves.

As to Brigadier *Mublenfeld*, having been accused of ill conduct in this attack, he was put under arrest at his return; but he had the happiness to

save himself, as we shall afterwards relate. This same day several regiments arrived at *Grodno*. Tho' the enemy had so wasted this country that the army suffered extremely for want of provision and forage, the King, who was enflamed with the desire of an engagement, resolved to pursue them, till he could overtake and force them to fight.

The army then continued their march in several columns; that of the King, composed of a few regiments only, led the van, first turning towards *Wilna*, which they afterwards left eight leagues wide of them to go to *Minsk*. They were again obliged to change this rout for want of provision, that whole country having been ravaged and laid waste; so they marched to *Smorgonia*, in the following rout.

The King decamped the thirtieth of *January* from *Grodno*, and proceeded four leagues to *Kulbaki*; the next day he marched to *Bronofze*, five leagues and a half, where he halted one day. Thence he encamped at *Libnitzy*, three leagues and a half, whence he advanced four leagues further to *Dubotniki*, where he halted again.

On the fourth of *February*, he decamped from *Zuborniki*, and came to *Olsianni*, five leagues; here he rested two days. On the seventh he encamped at *Swidlani*, and the eighth at *Smorgonia*, which is a little town of *Lituania*, in the Palatinate of *Wilna*, remarkable for teaching Bears to dance. Here his Majesty fixed his head quarters, and stay'd some time.

The rest of the Army pass'd through *Koklowitz*, (two leagues), *Milkowizna* (four leagues), *Studzin* (three leagues), *Lebioda* (three leagues), *Bi-
allaruda* (three leagues), and came to *Jacon*,
which

which is half a league from a little town called *Sobotniki*; where some of the enemy surprized a detachment of the regiment of *Hielm*, of which they killed three, took two prisoners, and set fire to a chamber where several sick were burnt. The army passed afterwards through *Trabi* (two leagues), *Binani* (four leagues), *Swidlani* (four leagues and a half) and at length, on the twenty-fourth, stopped at *Danuschewo* (half a league), and half a league from *Smorgonia*.

Our Valoches, who marched in the front, kept always at the heels of the enemy, and gained in this rout several advantages; hindering them at the same time, as much as possible, from committing the most horrible havock, in burning and sackings all the houses, lands and villages, as they had done before.

A body of two hundred and fifty Valoches of our troops surprized on the eleventh near *Olsiani*, a Russian Party of two hundred horse, the greater part of whom they cut in pieces; they took two Captains with fifty dragoons prisoners, and one hundred and fifty horses. On the twelfth, the Starost *Crispin* arrived at *Smorgonia* with thirty companies of the Lithuanian army under *Wisniowski*, after having given chase to the Russians, ever since their departure from the frontiers of *Samogitia*, and taken on the road two parties detached by General *Ronne* to burn the country, the one consisting of twenty, the other of thirty horse.

The Czar, after his retreat from *Grodno*, was retired to *Wilna*; in the neighbourhood of which all his court and army were assembled. This Prince had sent orders to the Knez *Repnin* and to General *Baver*, who were in *Polesia* and *Volhinia*, on the southern borders

of *Lithuania*, to retire from *Minsk* towards *Polock*, in order to be ready to join those troops, which lying near *Riga* should likewise retire towards the same place; pulling down all the bridges behind them, which would certainly cut off all *Courland* and those bodies under Count *Lowenbaupt* and *Wisniowski*, which had been in a manner inclosed; and cut off all retreat from the *Muscovite* camps about *Tykozin*, which being abandoned by them, were now possessed by the Heyduques of King *Stanislaus*.

During the retreat of the *Russians*, the Peasants and the lower Nobility of *Lithuania* made a considerable booty, on all sides, of the effects which the enemy left behind them; but this was a poor reparation for the damages they suffered, the Czar having given orders to sack the whole country. He now took the road of the *Dnieper*, with an intention to intrench himself on the banks of that river, between *Mobilow* and *Oursa*, whence he might have an assured retreat to *Mesylaw*, and above all to *Smolensko*.

The Cossacks and Calmucks executed the Czar's orders with all the barbarity imaginable, in such sort, that notwithstanding all the care which his Majesty took to the contrary, between *Wilna*, *Minsk* and *Berezina*, nothing but smoke and flames were to be seen on all sides.

The thirteenth, a detachment of *Russian* troops attempting to give fire to the little town of *Lebesciowa*, which is six leagues from *Smorgonia*, were prevented by our Valoches, who surprized them and cut them in pieces to the number of above three hundred men. They had gained a much greater advantage, if

King CHARLES XII. of SWEDEN.

7

they had waited the arrival of the rest of their body and of the *Lithuanians*, who were but one league off at the time of the action. *Menzikof* and *Oginski* were so closely followed by the *Starost Crispin* who commanded that party, to which two hundred *Swedish* dragoons under the command of Colonel *Trautfetter* were joined, that they were often on the very point of being surprized in their beds, which were not cold when they fell into the possession of their pursuers.

All the *Swedish* army with the artillery being arrived, on the fourteenth, in the neighbourhood of *Smorgonia*, the regiments were cantoned at large in the province, that they might refresh themselves after their fatiguing march, and with hopes to provide the more commodiously for their subsistence.

This Hope soon vanished at the news which the Commanders sent his Majesty. Their complaints were not only of want of forage, but of bread and other victuals; and above all, of beer, which would administer the chief refreshment to the soldiers, who had almost perished with thirst as well as fatigue.

True it is, that we received some supplies from *Prussia*, particularly from the town of *Königsberg*, whence several merchants ran the hazard to bring us food and other refreshments; for which they were largely paid: but this sufficed not for an whole army, so that if we had not applied ourselves with as much industry as we did some years before in *Lithuania*, to discover those magazines which the Peasants had hidden under ground, and which we did with great difficulty, we had all run the risque of perishing with hunger.

The LIFE and HISTORY of

The Czar having quitted *Wilna* retreated towards the *Dnieper*, intending to post himself, at *Mobilow*. Lieutenant Colonel *Dalheim*, who with a detachment of cavalry had penetrated as far as *Minsk*, whence the *Russians* on his appearance had fled full speed, confirmed this report; adding, that the enemy gave out that they intended to draw a line along the other side of the *Dnieper*, (otherwise called the *Boristhenes*) in order to dispute the passage with us.

During this continual retreat of the enemy, some Gentlemen, with the Peasants whom they had drawn together and armed, carried off from Prince *Menzikof* three waggons full of silver coin, which was conducting to *Konigsberg*, and was apparently the remainder of the last campaign, plundered from the poor *Polonese* through the whole Kingdom, to whom this *Russian* Prince was a true blood-sucker.

While these matters were in agitation, Brigadier *Mublenfeld*, who had escaped out of prison, came to his Majesty at *Smorgonia*, and informed him exactly of the Czar's designs, of the state of the *Russian* army, and the rout they held. This information engaged his Majesty to extend his army in the beginning of *March*, as far as the town of *Wilna*; which, on account of its obstinate attachment to the *Russian* party, was obliged to deliver in one week thirty thousand pound of bread, thirty thousand pound of meat, two hundred tons of beer, two hundred pots of brandy, with a large quantity of other victuals.

At this time the differences which had subsisted between the Houses of *Wisniowski* and *Sapieha*, were entirely extinguished by the arrival
of

of King *Stanislaus* at *Lida*, on the twenty-eighth of *February*. This Prince, with his troops, took up his quarters at *Geranów*, where he did not feel so much of the misery of the country as the King of *Sweden* at *Smorgonia*; all this neighbourhood belonging to the *Muscovite* adherents, had come better off than their neighbours, and were now able to afford us some assistance, as well as the territory of *Minsk*.

King *Stanislaus* on the eleventh of *March* made himself a tour to *Wilna*, where the magistrates of this Capital of *Lithuania* came forth to present him their Keys, and to recognize him for their Sovereign; humbly asking his protection and pardon for all their past faults. At the same time General *Smigelski*, who was posted at *Zakrozin* with his troops, arrived at King *Stanislaus's* quarters.

Whilst this Prince with his Column followed the King of *Sweden's* army, the affairs of *Poland* had put on different faces, according as the different parties in the Palatinate gained or lost the ascendance, *Siniawski*, Palatine of *Belsk*, whom King *Augustus* had made Great General of the Crown, and who, since his abdication was always attached to the Czar, and had much contributed to the support of the last confederacy of *Lublin*, had great part of the army of the crown strongly attached to his person: This Lord, I say, notwithstanding all the pains taken by Mr. *de Bonac*, the *French* Ambassador, who was then at *Warsovia*, to reconcile him and engage him in the interests of the new King of *Poland*, stood firm, and would not even hear of this Prince, nor make him any submission, especially since he had left the frontiers of *Poland* to advance into *Lithuania* with the King of *Sweden*.

Siniawski

Siniawski having at length assembled all his troops at *Wlodowa*, marched with them towards *Leopol*, in the Palatinate of *Russia*, in order to execute the decrees of that city, concerning the payment of the Confederate Army. He wrote at the same time to the Primate of that party, that he was retired from *Poland* into *Silesia*, with design to return and assemble a General Diet of the Confederate Estates, observing to him that he had already dispatched circular letters requiring to know the sentiments of the Senators and Nobility on that matter; that he had exhorted them to quit King *Stanislaus*, and enter into the strongest measures with the *Czar* to unite against the *Swedish* forces, by which they might be in a state to come to a new election.

This General published at the same time a manifesto, forbidding any respect to the orders of the Palatine of *Kiovia*, whom he declared a rebel, together with all other the adherents of King *Stanislaus*. By all these declarations, supported by a round sum of money which the *Czar* sent him, and with the Cossacks of *Mazepa*, who advanced from the *Ukraine* to join him, he extremely strengthened his party, and weakened that of King *Stanislaus*, whom he made to fear a general revolution, if he did not instantly return to *Poland* to conjure down the storm.

King *Stanislaus* after having amicably determined the differences which had so long raged between the houses of *Wisniowski* and *Sapieha*, sent the Palatine *Jablonowski* and Mr. *Bro-nitz* Marshal of the confederacy of *Warsovia*,
to

It was agreed that if Count post of Great General of *Lithuania*, that Prince *Wisniowski*

to the King of *Sweden*, to represent to him the necessity under which he found himself of returning into *Poland*, to reduce the malecontents, and re-establish tranquility in the kingdom, by holding a General Diet of pacification, which the Senators of his party had requested leave to do. The King of *Sweden* having consented to this, as he did also to the raising the contributions which the Palatinate of *Posnania* and *Kalis* were obliged to pay, King *Stanislaus* prepared to leave us, taking with him that body of the *Swedish* army under *Crassau*, which was appointed to attend him, to act against *Simiawski*, as we shall see hereafter.

We have already observed that the *Russians* on the side of *Riga* had withdrawn to *Polock* at his Majesty's entry into *Lithuania*. It is impossible to express what barbarities they committed in their retreat, from *Riga* to the Frontiers not having left one single house standing behind them; all was burnt, and lay in heaps of ruin and confusion. All the citizens of the unhappy town of *Dorpt* were led into slavery, they beheaded two of the Council, and pillaged all the houses, which were afterwards demolished together with the fortifications. They carried away likewise from *Narva* many of the richest merchants with their families, whom the *Czar* obliged to settle at *Moscow* to assist in promoting his commerce.

The rest of these wretches were banished into certain places assigned them to cultivate the land. They carried off from about *Mobilow*, upwards

wiski should succeed him, and Mr. *Sapieha* Starost of *Bobrinski*, nephew to the Great General should succeed Prince *Wishniowski*, as Under-General. When this

article was settled, these two Lords who had so long been at variance were reconciled, to the great pleasure of the King of *Sweden*.

upwards of one hundred waggons loaded with *Polish* infants of both sexes, to assist hereafter in peopling the vast deserts of *Muscovy*. This spread an universal terror over *Poland* and *Livonia*. At last General *Baver*, to give the finishing stroke to the miseries of this last province, entered it at his leaving the *Polish Livonia*, which he had in like manner sacked, and plundered of every thing, to form a great magazine at *Seiswegen*, posting himself along the *Duna*, of which he continued the master, Count *Lowenhaupt* not having forces sufficient to hinder or make head against him.

The King of *Sweden* resolved to quit his quarters of *Smorgonia*, in the Palatinate of *Wilna*, and go to *Minsk*, hoping to be the better able to support his army, which wanted all manner of necessaries. He decamped the fifteenth of *March*, and in two days arrived at *Radow-skiewice*, which is twelve leagues from *Smorgonia*, five from *Minsk*, and seven from the little town of *Plessenize*.

We were here again deceived in our expectations, the land being incultivated, produced nothing to refresh the army, and the subterranean magazines were very hard to discover; and even if we could have found them all, they would have been very insufficient for the supplying so many troops. The reader should know besides, that in *Lithuania*, there is generally speaking more wood than manurable lands. The forests which present themselves on this rout, are above one hundred leagues in length without any interruption, in which parts there are but a few small miserable villages all surrounded with trees; whence it may be easy to conceive what the troops suffered during that march, especially the cavalry,

cavalry, who found not even grafs for their horses.

In these countries we met with an extraordinary quantity of honey, of which we made a Mead that was very delicious. Bees-wax is no where in such abundance, nor so cheap as here. To conserve the trees which the Bees fasten on, and defend them against the Bears, who very diligently search after them, to devour the honey, which they will climb to the very top for, the inhabitants place round the trees, and under the swarms, certain pointed stakes ^c which they fix in planks, and thus prevent these animals from approaching the trees. Here is abundance of game, and fowls, the former of which give agreeable sport to the huntsman.

The 31st of *March* Count *Lowenbaupt* arrived at *Radowskiewice*, to give his Majesty an account of the condition of his troops, which were in *Courland* and *Livonia*, and to receive the necessary instructions to join us. At the same time the *Swedish* Resident *Knipercrona*, who had been a good while in that character at the Court of *Russia*, came from *Stockholm* with propositions on the part of the *Czar*, to settle a Cartel with the King, and make an exchange of those prisoners already taken on both sides : but these propositions were not relished by the King of *Sweden*, who never would consent to them. Prince *Mazarini* an *Italian*, who had followed his Majesty from *Rawitz*, at this time died of a high fever.

Our army extended its quarters towards *Borissow* on the one side, and as far as *Bobuseviza* on the other. A change his Majesty judged proper

^c *Especie de Fraise.*

proper to make, in order to procure more commodious subsistence for his troops.

King *Stanislaus* was quartered at *Stoli*: There was at *Borissow* a body of 8000 *Russians*, under the command of General *Goltz* to defend that pass which is situated on the river *Berezina*.

General *Bauer* continued to make great waste in the province of *Livonia*. Having fixt his camp fifteen leagues from *Riga*, by which he obliged Count *Lowenhaupt* to return after he had received his last orders from his Majesty, whilst several *Swedish* regiments advanced to be ready to support his troops in case of an attack: The *Czar* made this motion to give an apprehension of his having a design on *Riga*, and to oblige the King of *Sweden* to take another rout; but this feint produced no effect, his *Swedish* Majesty never changing the plan which he had formed.

The *Czar* who had been some time at *Polotsk*, ordered his army, which was said to be seventy thousand strong, to pass the *Dnieper*, resolving to go himself to *Petersbourg*, to press the sending out his fleet, which was to be very considerable, and whence he had great expectations: but falling sick at the instant when he was preparing to set out, he caused himself to be conveyed to *Smolensko*, leaving the direction of all the operations to the Generals *Scheremethof*, *Menzikof*, *Galizin*, *Goltz*, *Allard*, *Repnin* and *Pflug*.

As these Generals were then at *Mobilow*, they held a council of war, in which it was debated, whether they should make peace or risque a battle. *Menzikof* insisted much on the former, but the foreign Generals opposed him strongly, in spite of the panick terror which reigned in their army, and the great desertion
of

of their soldiers, and even the national troops who for the most part enlisted themselves in the *Lithuanian* army; for this reason the *Czar* had so passionately desired the Cartel, proposed by *Knipercrona*, to which his *Swedish* Majesty would not consent.

In the beginning of *May* such a prodigious quantity of snow fell in our quarters, and the cold was so very piercing, that we were for the most part obliged to keep to our houses; but all on a sudden, towards the middle of *May*, so sudden a change happened, that we might be said to be transported to a quite different climate. This occasioned many violent diseases to both men and horses: many of the latter and a great number of dogs ran mad, and such men as had the misfortune to be bit by them died a few days after, in most terrible torments.

Count *Lowenhaupt* being returned on the fifteenth of *May* to *Riga*, made all necessary preparations to join his Majesty with his body of the army, in conformity to the orders he had received, in order to act with more vigour against the *Czar*, and to attack him in the very heart of his estates. We had the more reason to hope for good success in this expedition, as this Prince was hated and made uneasy by his subjects, on account of the novelties which he introduced into the Government.^d

The *Czar* had obliged his subjects to dress themselves in a manner entirely different from that which they had before used, to shave their beards; and besides the bloody war which they were to support, he likewise made them labour at the building of vessels and other publick works,

^d This was then the language every where, but the sequel shewed they were mistaken who thought so.

works, which they did much against their will: this caused heavy murmurs and a great discontent throughout his kingdom; nothing was heard of but revolts, and scarce was one quieted before a fresh sedition arose from another quarter.

Besides all these considerations, which encouraged his *Swedish* Majesty to enter *Russia*, the advices which they had some time since receiv'd from *Mazeppa* General of the Cossack *Russians*, were a powerful motive of that firm resolution which this Prince took to execute the project he had formed.

Mazeppa, who had for a long time had great reason to complain of the *Czar*, was then on the frontiers of *Volbinia*, with a body of twenty five thousand Cossacks, with which he pretended that he would join *Siniawski*, at the same time that he carried on a correspondence by Letters with King *Stanislaus*, the purport of which was to prevail on the King to enter the *Ukrain*, and deliver it from the *Muscovite* yoke under which it groaned. The fertility and abundance of this country, where the war might be continued with vigour, and pushed into the very bowels of the *Czar's* dominions, where so many Malecontents waited only our arrival to declare themselves, caused the King of *Sweden* to take a resolution of turning his victorious arms that way, as soon as he was joined by *Lowenbaupt's* army. We left our Commissaries at *Wilna*, where they raised

The author's remark. It was this that engaged his Majesty before his departure from *Radoskiewics*, to set all the *Muscovite* prisoners at liberty, who were sent into their own country to publish the clemency of the King of *Sweden*. We detained only a few to shew us the roads, whom we treated in the best manner.

raised fifty one thousand crowns of that city, twenty thousand of the Dutchy of *Slucz*, and a proportionable sum of the other Palatinates, to be contributed towards defraying the war against the *Czar*. The principal care was to get together all the provision that was possible for the subsistence of the army during the march we were going to make, and our Commissaries to that effect made some journeys to *Grodno*, *Samagitia* and *Podlachia*, to procure it from all parts.

As soon then as the regiments were provided for three months with every thing necessary for their subsistence, in a country laid intirely waste, the army was put in motion the first of *June*, and marched towards *Loboiſk*.

His Majesty had reviewed his troops before he set out, and was entirely taken up during his stay at *Radoskiowice*, in teaching them a new sort of exercise, going on this account from one regiment to another, to instruct and form them.

On *June* the sixth the King of *Sweden* decamped, marching towards *Berezina*, where our van-guard arrived that same day. The regiments marched cloſer together by reason of the neighbourhood of the enemy. That evening King *Stanislaus* took leave of his *Swediſh* Majesty, being on his return into *Poland*, to bring the Confederates to reason by the assistance of the *Swediſh* and *Lithuanian* troops, to which the Crown Army was to be joined.

We marched three leagues that day to *Trof-nitz*, where we passed the night and the next day. The artillery followed in our rear at the distance only of two leagues. On the eighth, the King continued his march through *Grodeck*

to *Minsk*, being in haste to arrive at *Berezina*, whither the greater part of the army had marched the evening before. The ninth, we came to *Smigielwicz*, whence we past the next day by *Ibumain* to *Jurgewiza*. On the fifteenth we arrived at the river of *Berezina*, near the town of *Bereza-Sapieska*.

The King at his arrival here, took with him his foot and some of the horse, and attended by the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, advanced to reconnoitre the dispositions of the enemy. His Majesty perceived that the opposite bank of the river was much covered with hedges and bushes, and defended by near two thousand *Muscovites*, besides a great number of *Don Cossacks*, who kept themselves concealed.

The King presently ordered his foot to advance and fire on them, in order to disperse them; but as the river is not wide in this part, the Cossacks returned the fire so well, that the balls whistled round the King on all sides.

The Prince of *Wurtemberg* fearing what might happen to his Majesty's sacred Person, who would not retire and remained thoroughly exposed, took with him two officers, and advanced with them on horseback some paces nearer the river, to divert at least their aim from the King. The enemy at that instant fired three shot at these three persons, two of them passed by without doing any mischief, but the third shot the Prince through the left thigh. To prevent the enemy's rejoicing, he concealed his wound some time, telling it only to the two officers who were with him; he still kept his seat, and went slowly to find the King, who was much alarmed at this accident, and
caused

caused the Prince to be carried to a little *Greek* chappel which was hard by, where they stopt the blood, till the arrival of a surgeon with the baggage.

The youth of the Prince, joined with his good habit of body, soon restored him to a capacity of mounting his horse; till which time he was carried in his bed by twenty four musqueteers, who were relieved from time to time during the march, and to whom the King, who took an extraordinary care of the Prince, ordered a crown a day to be paid *per man*.

His Majesty, to give a diversion to the enemy, had detached General *Sparr* with four regiments towards *Borissow*, on the *Berezina*, where Lieutenant-General *Goltz* was posted, as we have said, with eight thousand, or according to others twelve thousand men, to dispute the passage, being persuaded that the King would attempt it there. But while *Sparr* was advancing on that quarter, his Majesty, who was arrived, as we have just now mentioned, at *Bereza-Saphieska*, ordered Colonel *Gyllenkrok* the next day after his arrival, to pass the river at the head of two hundred men. The Colonel had no sooner posted himself on the other side, than the *Russians* and *Cossacks* fled full speed towards *Mobilow*. The King then caused two bridges to be thrown across for the passage of the army, which arrived a few days afterwards on the other side of the river.

The King in the mean time led the van, and used the utmost diligence to cut off General *Goltz*. This Prince was followed only by part of his *Drabans*, and likewise part of his regiment of Guards, of the two *Ostrogoth* regiments of horse and foot, the regiments of horse

of *Smoland*, and the horse and dragoon-guards, with the foot of *Dahl-Carlia*, &c.

General *Goltz* being timely informed by those who fled, of the King's march, retreated instantly from *Borissow* towards *Mobilow*. At the same time, Prince *Manzikof* who had left detachments of twelve, fifteen, and eighteen thousand men, at certain distances, to stop us if possible, not thinking we could so soon pass the *Bereza*, by reason of the continual bogs which were on the road, had no sooner heard this news than he ordered General *Pflug*, who guarded the passage of *Odrusko*, to retreat hastily, after having demolished all the bridges to hinder our pursuit.

Notwithstanding all these difficulties, the King advanced through a great wood full of morasses, and very difficult to pass, and where we could march but a few leagues in a day, the bridges being all destroyed. We were obliged to pass ten nights together in the open field, where we were even glad to find some place fit to encamp upon; at the end of which time we arrived near *Bialiemsia*, where his Majesty hoped to surprize a body of twelve thousand men, who were there posted; but they very prudently retired on the first advice of our approach, having first cut down the woods, broke up the roads, and destroyed all the bridges and houses behind them.

The rest of the army followed in the same rout, passing through *Bialiemsia*, which stands eleven leagues from *Bereza*, where they surprized two Jews whom the Knez *Repnin* had sent as spies, and who were presently hanged. His Majesty advanced from *Bialiemsia* towards *Holowfszin*, where he gave the enemy battle, an exact description of which is contained in the following relation.

A perfect Relation of what happened at the battle of Holowfszin, the fourth of July, 1708, between the troops of his Swedish Majesty, and those of the Czar of Muscovy, written by the Author of these Memoirs.

That we may omit nothing conducive to a perfect understanding of the double encounter between the Infantry on each side, and the Cavalry on each side, which were fought distinctly one from the other ; I will begin with the situation of the town of *Holowfszin*, which is in the middle of a wood, on the bank of the little river of *Babiecz*, which running through part of *Lithuania*, mixes with the *Drutsch*, with which it discharges itself into the *Dnieper*. This town is five leagues from *Mobilow*, and thirty five from *Minsk*. The River *Babiecz* is almost every where bordered by very marshy meadows, which render its banks almost impracticable to be approached, so that the horse could not act, at least without the assistance of fascines and bridges of communication.

His *Swedish* Majesty arrived near the town of *Holowfszin*, the thirtieth of *June*, where he found a strong party of the enemy's dragoons ; but as the front of his army was composed only of some companies of his foot guards, he was not able to repulse them. The dragoons retreating slowly, (the river and three bridges, of which they possessed the two last, being between themselves and us) fortified themselves with a little entrenchment, extended equal with the extremities of these three bridges, which were separated from each other by three arms of the river.

The same day arrived the rest of the regiment of Foot-Guards, the King's *Drabans*, the regiments of Horse and Dragon-Guards, with that of *Dabl-Carlia*, and our artillery, who encamped on an elevated piece of ground near the town. The enemy posted about two thousand dragoons, on a hill directly opposite to us, and fired several harmless shots from their small field-pieces. In the evening, they gave a signal by the discharge of a cannon, to sound and beat a retreat in their camp.

The next day, being the first of *July*, the enemy's cannon began to play before day, and continued to do so till the evening; their shot was very small, and did as little execution as the day before. We did nothing that day, waiting the arrival of the rest of our troops. The regiments of Foot of *Sperling*, (*Ostrogoths*) those of Horse of *Rosenstierna*, (*Ostrogoths*) and of *Dahldorff*, (*Smolandars*) arrived the same day.

The second, the enemy began to work at a grand entrenchment lined with *chevaux de frise*, which reached the length of a great wood, pursuing all along the course of the river, and extended a *Polish* league and a half, or a good *Swedish* league, from their right wing to their left, being the whole extent of their entrenchment. Towards the evening, their horse were relieved by a body of their foot, after having been posted three days without forage, without drawing bit, and without stirring.

The same day the Generals *Allart* and *Repnin* arrived with eight thousand Foot, and we learnt from some deserters and prisoners that the enemy's army was commanded by Velt-Marshal *Goltz*, and who had under his

his command the Generals *Allart*, *Repnin*, *Ronn*, *Rensil*, *Heinski*, *Tschambre*, *Gallowin*, *Von Sweden*, &c. &c. Nothing passed this day except the enemy's discharge of eight pounders, which did us no manner of hurt.

On the third of *July*, the enemy compleated their entrenchment, which they fortified with six different batteries, and thirty thousand men, chose out of their best troops, which were again reinforced by the arrival of *Alexander Menzikof*, Generalissimo, *Czeremetof* Velt-Marshal, and the Prince of *Hesse-Darmstadt*.

The same day eight hundred of their Cossacks and Calmucks threw themselves over the river, and fell openly on our Valoches; but after having killed their Captain *Uchanowitz*, and a Cornet, they were repulsed, and forced to return the same way they came. In this action several were killed, wounded, and taken prisoners on both sides.

Towards the evening, Baron *Axel Sparr*, General of foot, arrived with his regiment of *Wesmanland* in our camp, and was followed by nine other regiments who marched a little behind, but near enough to be brought up in case of need.

In the beginning of the evening, Col. *Bunau* ordered the artillery to be drawn towards the village of *Starabella*, half a league from the camp, and placed twenty pieces of cannon and two patereros, on a rising ground opposite to the enemy's entrenchments, and six other pieces of cannon below the river to the left, to disturb the enemy's communication, and to hinder any succours to be brought to their left wing from their right.

As Mr. *Bunau* could not make this motion with his artillery so secretly but that the enemy must perceive it, they gave a great alarm, and discharged a signal for every one to stand to his arms.

The fourth of *July*, being the last day of the week according to our stile, Mr. *Bunau* gave the enemy a salutation at half an hour after two in the morning with his twenty pieces of cannon and two patereros, which serenade^f he continued till half an hour after five.

During this time the King, after having drawn up his troops, rushed into the river, wading up to his breast, holding by his right hand Colonel *Siegroth*, and by his left *Charles Albrecht Adlerfelt*, Captain of his guards. His Majesty was instantly followed by four regiments of foot, namely, the Guards, *Dahl-Carlens*, *Uplanders*, and *Westmanlanders*, commanded by their Colonels *Poss*, *Siegroth*, *Fritski*, and *Sparr*.

At the same time the *Drabans*, four squadrons of the Dragoon-guards under Velt-Marshal Count *Rheinschild*, three squadrons of the Horse-guards commanded by General *Creutz*, and two squadrons of *Smoland* conducted by *Dahldorff*, and which were principally destined for the attack, passed the river the first, under favour of our artillery; which at the same time forced the troops of the enemy, who attempted, at their right and left, to attack those who past, to return back and regain their retrenchment, in which Mr. *de Bunau* continued to make a terrible havock. The enemy found themselves disconcerted and at a stand, on which occasion the King said, "Matters go well, they are conquered."^g

Count

^f *Aubade.*

^g *Voilà qui va bien, et sont des gens battus.*

Count *James Sperling* passed afterwards with his regiment of *Ostrogoth* foot, as well as the rest of the horse; and as *Sperling* perceived two squadrons of the right wing of the enemy to aim at attacking the left flank of his regiment, he made them wheel half round to the left, and then gave them such a home salute with a general discharge, that they abandoned their purpose with the utmost haste. After this vigorous action, the regiment recovered their ground, and marched fiercely on without any farther interruption, as well as the rest of the troops that followed, but which could not however come up to the charge, for the Defile was very difficult to pass, and the foremost troops charged the enemy so vigorously, that they were obliged to precipitate their retreat.

His Majesty being always on horse-back, put himself about half an hour after four at the head of the Foot-Guards, the *Dabl-Carlois*, and the *Uplanders*; who advanced fiercely, with their arms shouldered, towards the right front of the enemy's left wing, commanded by General *Repnin*; during which, the *Westmanlanders* and the *Ostrogoths* had orders to march more to the left, to cut off any succour from the rest of the enemy. These, who had already suffered much from our artillery during two hours, and who saw themselves void of any covering on their right, (their cavalry acting neither to the right or left) at the approach of our men in this opening, which was about two hundred paces, that they might not be attacked in the front, and likewise in the rear, resolved to go forth from their entrenchment with their foot, which consisted of eighteen battalions on that side, before we came up to them.

They

They then attempted to pass on the back of their entrenchment, defiling below us on two bridges, the one facing the other, and by the assistance of which they hoped to pass over a very morassy ground. In this manner they separated their infantry from their cavalry, which latter stood very quiet along their entrenchment, till our men coming up with them, attacked and put them to flight.

When the battle was in this situation, the King gave spurs to his horse, and pressed forward with his infantry to attack theirs; but notwithstanding all the diligence of these regiments, who were animated to such a degree that they ran towards the enemy, their foot gained a thick wood, which offered itself very favourably to their retreat. Into this they threw themselves with great expedition, posting themselves very near the outside; the trees, which stood very close and were very bushy, served them for pallisado's of defence, and instead of an entrenchment.

Here the enemy began to fire on us, who stood all exposed on the open field; and they ceased not to charge and discharge their pieces till half an hour past six, when they had no more powder or ball left. During all this time the King went from one battalion to another, always conveying himself where the fire was the briskest; animating his troops with his hand, his sword, and his voice; ordering them above all things, instead of firing, to use their pikes, their bayonets and their swords, till at last our brave musqueteers, thoroughly resolved to conquer or die, having forced their enemies to turn their backs and penetrated into the wood, remained intirely victorious by the general flight of the enemy; who, throwing down their arms,

abandoned the field of battle and the wood, leaving all to the mercy of the conquerors, who now beat a retreat, to cause our troops who pursued the enemy too hotly, to return and draw up in rank and file, according to his Majesty's order.

The King was well served by Major-General *Sparr*, and by all his brave officers and soldiers, who, in reality, performed wonders at this violent attack; where, notwithstanding the rain, the fire of the enemy was very terrible.

His Majesty had always by his side the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, General *Poniatowski* and Colonel *Wangersheim*, who never quitted the sacred person of our Hero; tho' the Prince was hardly recovered of a wound he had received near the river *Berezina* almost three weeks before.

Let us take a short survey of the cavalry who had advanced a league beyond the attack of the Foot; and where his Majesty came, after the whole was over. We had very credible informations, that his Excellency Count *Rheinschild*, seeing the difficulty he found to make our regiments of horse defile and advance through the river *Babiecz*, and that on the other side, his Majesty was briskly engaged with the enemy's foot, took instantly the King's Drabans and four squadrons of his own regiment of body-dragoons, who had passed the river first, and charged so stoutly with these *Swedes* the whole bodies of the enemies horse and dragoons of the left wing, amounting to eleven thousand men, forming one hundred and thirty squadrons, and commanded by *Goltz*, that he had no time to recollect himself, nor to send for succour to that body of Foot which the *Knez Repnin*, as we have said, commanded.

Our

Our victorious squadrons advanced with so much force and impetuosity, that the Horse-guards and the two squadrons of *Dabldorff* had all the difficulty in the world to follow in order, to support them at all events: so that in this action the five first squadrons, and especially the Drabans, who were all the time surrounded by the enemies, suffered and lost much the most; and so did the regiment of guards among the infantry.

Amongst those of note who were killed on our side, we may reckon Major-General *Wrangle*, Captain-Lieutenant of the Drabans, and Quarter-Master *Wattrang*, of the same corps; Messieurs *Horn*, *Palpitzki*, *Palmback*, *Barkmann* and *Damm*; the Adjutant-General *Claes Hierta*, *John Ankerhielm* Captain of the guards, Count *Wachtmeister*, and others.

Amongst the wounded, were Count *Poss* Colonel of guards, his Major *Stiernhook*, and eight Captains, of which number was Baron *Gyllenstierna*, to whom his Majesty vouchsafed the honour of his horse, whence he dismounted in order to mount this officer, who was carried out of the battle to have the many wounds dressed which he received at the attack of the wood. The Lieutenant-Colonels *Ulfsparr* and *Wrangle*, the first of *Dabl-Carlia*, and the second of *Wesmanlanders*; the Majors *Ornstedt* and *Griesbach* of the dragoon-guards, and *Dabl-Carlia*, were also wounded, with thirty-six Drabans and forty-five officers of the guards. We lost in all but two hundred and fifty-five common soldiers, and had twelve hundred and nineteen wounded.

As to the *Russians*, we learnt from the prisoners that they had near three thousand officers and soldiers killed, among which were the Generals *Tschambre*, *Gallowin*, and *Von Sweden*; and that their right wing, which was entirely cut off from the left, had retreated at three in the afternoon under the command of *Scheremetof*, *Ronn* and *Rensel*, without firing a piece, and marched towards the town of *Schlowa* on the *Dnieper*, where their army re-assembled in a body, in order to retire beyond *Mobilow*.

We took twelve pieces of brass-cannon, all their ammunition and baggage, two pair of kettle-drums, and some colours; most of which were taken by the regiment of guards, which acted wonders.

His Majesty, having ordered the enemy's cavalry to be pursued for some time, who sometimes turned about in their flight firing at an hundred paces or a greater distance, and afterwards flying with the utmost speed to save themselves, now recalled those that were in the pursuit, and encamped this and the following nights in the enemy's intrenchments; where we returned thanks to God for the victory which he had granted us.

Thus ended this day so glorious both to the arms and person of his Majesty, whose valour supported by the courage and bravery of his troops, gave the *Russians* to understand, with what ill judgment they had compared their forces to oursⁿ.

The

ⁿ The Prince of *Wurtemberg* had a particular rencounter at the beginning of the action. An Officer of the enemy's foot well mounted, having rode forth from his

The LIFE and HISTORY of

The *Drabans*, to the number of one hundred and twenty menⁱ, performed the most extraordinary feats of valour in this battle, where ten or twelve joined together formed little squadrons, and with a terrible force which nothing was able to resist, overthrew and trampled on whole squadrons of the enemy. They made ten subsequent attacks in this manner; they suffered the most from the Calmucks, who, always falling on their backs while they were engaged, did them much the most considerable damage.

Amongst the wounded, the majority had three or four wounds; nay, some of them carried ten or eleven glorious marks of their bravery out of the battle. The enemy had thirty battalions in the field, eighteen of which only were engaged, which were routed, as we have said, by our three regiments. Their left wing was composed of eleven thousand dragoons, their right of seven thousand seven hundred horse; besides which, they had four thousand Calmucks: their whole number amounted to many more than thirty thousand men.

The Czar arrived in his army two days after the action, and was so incensed at the loss of a battle where his troops were so superior in number, that he fetched out all those who were wounded in the back, and made them draw lots;

his ranks, cried out to the Prince, without knowing him, in the *French* tongue, *Venez ici, si vous êtes un brave homme, If you are a brave man, come hither.* He had scarce ended his defiance, when this brave Prince, who desired no more, giving spurs to his horse, received

a pistol-shot which past by him, and in the same moment run his sword up to the hilt into the officer's body, who fell dead from his horse.

ⁱ They were one hundred and fifty when they left *Saxony*.

lots; those who drew a black lot were immediately shot, which sad fate happen'd to many of them.

As soon as we had buried our dead, and were joined by the rest of the army, his Majesty on the seventh of *July* decamped, facing towards *Mobilow* on the *Dnieper*, where he arrived the ninth, after having passed six leagues of very bad road, which gave the enemy time to place the *Dnieper* between them and us; who demolishing all the bridges behind them, marched towards *Smolensko*.

The current report being, that his Majesty intended to penetrate into *Russia* on the side of *Smolensko*, the Czar caused his armies to ravage all that part of the country, that we might be unable to follow them. All our troops being now arrived by diverse routs, were so posted, that the most distant were not above a league from *Mobilow*; under which town his Majesty encamped with most of his regiments.

The King on his arrival at *Mobilow*, immediately ordered two bridges to be built for the passage of the *Dnieper*; the readiness with which they were finished, gave room to believe that we should pursue the enemy. But as the troops were extremely faint and fatigued, not only by their violent marches, but also for want of food, and above all by that continual rain which had fallen every day during six weeks, and had been followed by very cold nights; and as we found some subsistence in *Mobilow* and the neighbouring places, his Majesty resolved to rest here some weeks for the refreshing his troops (amongst which there were many sick) and likewise to give the wounded time for their cure.

Nothing

The LIFE and HISTORY of

Nothing remarkable passed during our stay at *Mobilow*, unless the disturbances which were frequently given us by the Calmucks; who, sometimes swam across the river, and carried off our horses out of their pastures.

We found at *Mobilow* several notes scattered abroad, by which great recompence was promised to such *Swedes* as would desert. These promises however made no impression on our troops, who despised such devices. We had here an opportunity of renewing an epistolary correspondence with our friends, which had been interrupted for some time; and here his Majesty gave orders that a great part of the records of the Chancery should be sent to *Stockholm*.

As to King *Stanislaus*, he had bent his course towards *Grodno* by very slow marches, not more than two or three leagues a day, designing to reach the camp of the *Lithuanian* army near *Briesowa*. At *Grodno* several deputies of the Palatinates came to offer him their submission.

This Prince proceeded to *Prussia*, and on the fifth of *July* arrived at *Elbing*, and the eighth at *Mariembourg*, where the Queen of *Poland* his spouse came to meet him. The town of *Dantzick* sent four Deputies to him with their compliments. He resolved to wait for the conjunction of the *Swedish* regiments to act against *Siniawski*, who with his body of troops, after having encamped some weeks at *Nisko*, had marched to *Lublin*, and *Breszia-Cujawski*, to join those *Lithuanian* malecontents who were under the command of *Poczici*.

On the other hand Count *Lowenhaupt* prepared to join his Majesty with his body of the army, assembled in *Livonia* and
Courland,

Courland, and bring with him provision and ammunition for us for three months; but this General marched very slowly, on account of the great number of loaded waggons which he brought with him, and as he was always harassed in his march by General *Baver*. His Majesty therefore perceiving, that all was consumed in this country, and that his people could not wait the arrival of Count *Lowenhaupt* without perishing with hunger, after having gathered together all the remaining provisions for the regiments, resolved to pass the *Dnieper* to meet this General, to whom he sent orders to endeavour the same conjunction.

On the fifth of *August* his Majesty passed the river over a bridge, followed by the regiment of guards and some other foot regiments, and leaving the road to *Horki* or *Gorki* to the left, encamped at half a league from *Mobilow*.

The Calmucks, who were concealed in the woods, only observed our motions this first day, and endeavoured here and there to carry off a little pillage. The two following days the rest of the army continued to pass the *Dnieper*, and then broke down the bridge.

The eighth, the army marched to *Oneskewitz*, (three quarters of a league) situated on this side of a little river called *Refta*. On the ninth we celebrated a day of solemn fast and prayer.

The tenth we proceeded some leagues towards *Stolki*, where our advanced guards were posted within a league and a half of the enemy. Here we halted four days, during which the Calmucks often attempted to harass us; but they did little more harm, than the carrying off a few horses and servants.

The seventeenth, his Majesty decamped from *Stolki*, and came to *Visoki*, (two leagues) on the little river *Pronia*. The enemy continued still to abandon all those towns which might have made some resistance, burning, destroying, and sacking all; so that we found on all sides nothing but the most sad ruins, and the country a most horrible desert. This occasioned great scarcity among the soldiers, who were compelled to make use of all manner of means for their subsistence; cutting the corn themselves when they found any, afterwards thrashing, grinding it in hand-mills, baking and eating it directly, which required a good deal of time and labour.

This evening his Majesty was advised, that a large body of *Russian* dragoons was but a league's distance, that General *Goltz* with the rest of the cavalry was posted three leagues beyond, and that General *Ifland* was marched towards the *Ukrain* with seven regiments, whilst the Czar himself was posted with his infantry at *Micislaw*, whence he afterwards returned towards *Soffa*.

The next day being the eighteenth, the *Valoches* returned with twelve prisoners and a Major, named *Du Caille*, who had commanded a party of an hundred and sixty *Muscovite* dragoons, the greater part of which were cut to pieces. We learnt from the Major, and the Orders in writing which were found upon him, that the enemy intended to throw a bridge over the *Soffa*, near the town of *Czerikowa*, in order to pass the river.

The nineteenth, the army advanced only two leagues to *Drakowka*, and the next day encamped at *Labonowa*, a league and a half; whence they proceeded one league on the twenty-first

to *Czarikowa*, and encamped at a little distance from the town. Near this town, which was situated on this side of the *Sassa*, General *Rom* was just arrived with fifteen thousand *Russians* in order to pass the river there, over which he had thrown three floating bridges; when our *Valoches*, having come up with his Rear-guard consisting of eight squadrons, attacked them with so much valour, that they were pushed into a defile, where the *Russians* standing their ground, gave our *Valoches* so warm a reception, that they were on the point of being dispersed; when our van-guard advanced to their succour, and put the enemy to flight, with great slaughter.

General *Rom* left behind him at this pass, a great number both of men and horses, which, by reason of the fatigues which they had undergone in all their marches, were not in a condition to follow him. The greatest part of his baggage was likewise lost, and the Peasants of the neighbouring countries had five hundred of his waggons to their share; the *Valoches* took eighteen, with a quantity of tents, a number of horses and camels. Some coaches full of the wives of *German* Officers fell likewise into their hands, but after having plundered the coaches, they let the Ladies go.

General *Goltz* marched some leagues higher to pass the *Sassa*, and so join the *Czar*; who, as we have said, was posted at *Micislaw*.

The next day being the twenty-second of *August*, some hundreds of *Russian* dragoons having had the boldness to pass one of their floating bridges, and post themselves on our side of the river; his Majesty ordered fifty men of his regiment of guards, who were the nearest at hand, to march immediately, who obliged them to re-

turn the same way with great speed, leaving some of their men behind them. This detachment of fifty men likewise lost some, and had others wounded.

It was believed, his Majesty would have pass'd the *Sossa* here ; but having left *Czerikowa* on his right, he turned towards *Micislaw*, and advanced a league and a half to *Sori*. The next day the army marched to *Kulloblin*, (two leagues).

On this rout we surprized a detachment of *Goltz's* army, which we never ceased pursuing ; and killed thirty men and took seven prisoners.

The same day a column of our army, composed of a regiment of Artillery, two regiments of horse of *Scania*, and a regiment of foot of *Sudermanland*, met on their way a brigade of the enemy consisting of eight thousand men. Colonel *Ornstedt* had no sooner perceived the enemy than he advanced instantly with two squadrons of his regiment of *South-Scania*, and attacked the Rear of that brigade with so much valour, that after having killed about fifty men, he drove the rest home to the main body of their troops.

The enemy being then posted near a defile, which they fortified with some field-pieces, they made a feint of intending to hazard a battle ; but as soon as our Colonel, who was absolutely obliged to pass through the defile, and who had put his men in a posture of attack, advanced to that purpose ; and that Colonel *Bunau* began, by playing his cannon on the defile ; they lost their courage, and retreated in haste to *Slabatko*, two leagues from thence.

The

The King having halted one day at *Kulloblin*, decamped and marched to *Patrinowka* (two leagues); where *Goltz* would have passed the *Soffa*, but was hindered by our close pursuit. The King halted one day, and then came to *Malatiza*, (two leagues).

The Czar, after having quitted *Micislaw*, kept even pace with us along the other side of the *Soffa*, which he passed and repassed at many places to observe our motions. At length, on the same day whereon we arrived at *Parvinowka*, this Prince encamped at *Dobro*, on the little river of *Bialana* one league from *Melazier*, where he intrenched himself to attend the conjunction of his forces.

The near approach of the two armies occasioned a very smart battle, which happened some days after our arrival at *Malatiza*. Major-General *Roos* was encamped with his column consisting of the regiment of horse of *Ostrogots*, and the regiments of foot of *Westrogots*, *Nerika*, *Westerbotn*, and *Jonkioping*, about half a league from the Head-quarters on the river of *Nappa*, or *Czarnapata*, in a place secured by very large bogs, through which his Majesty had determined to pass to attack the Czar; who being informed of the separation of this column from the rest of the army, resolved to surprize them. For this purpose, he caused a kind of ponton to be made with little trees interwoven in the form of mats, in order to throw over the bog, into which they likewise cast a quantity of fascines; and he ordered the Knez *Gallizin*, with the Generals *Ronn* and *Pflug*, to march at the head of ten battalions and three regiments of dragoons, (all of his best troops) to attack *Roos*.

This detachment found great difficulty in passing the morass, and the river; but having at length accomplished it under the favour of a thick fog, which hindered us from perceiving their approach, they surprized our regiments at six in the morning in their camp, where they attacked us with all possible fury.

The Regiment of foot of *Jonkioping*, commanded by *Buchwald*, was first ranged in order of battle, and sustained at first among the tents the redoubled attacks of the enemy with so much valour, that they gave time to the *Westrogoths* to advance to their assistance. The two other regiments coming at the same time had their share in the business, as well as the regiment of horse; the battle became very bloody and obstinate, and lasted two hours, with a dreadful slaughter on both sides.

The King having heard the fire, gave immediate orders to several regiments to march to the assistance of *Ros*; to whom he hastened himself, followed by the Prince of *Wurtemberg* and several other Generals, to partake in the action, which yet continued very brisk. The regiment of *Dahl-Carlers* arriving the first, made so furious a discharge on the *Russian* foot, that they gave ground, and made a retreating fight, forming themselves into a long hollow square towards the morass, in order to repass it.

At which instant Prince *Wurtemberg* having proposed to his Majesty to attack the enemy's flank, the King gave him orders to take the regiment of dragoons of *Hielm*, for that purpose. These having wheeled a little, dismounted and attacked the enemy with such terrible fury (the regiment of *Dahl-Carlers* under *Siegroth*,
pur-

pursuing at the same time their first blow) that the *Muscovite* foot endeavoured to save themselves cross the morafs, whither their cavalry had shewn them the way. They quitted the field of battle with such precipitation, as differed very little from a flight or general rout; and returned into their camp, leaving great numbers in the morafs, where they sunk, and were killed by the but-ends of muskets and fuzees as soon as the fog was cleared up. The business being at an end, our regiments returned quietly into their camp.

We lost many brave officers on this occasion, Mr. *Rosenstierna*, Colonel of *Ostrogoth* horse, was killed at the first attack, with many other officers. Count *Jasper Sperling*, and Colonel *Buchwald* were dangerously wounded. Colonel *Ansfwidson*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Ulfsparr*, were slightly hurt. We had at most two hundred and sixty-one soldiers killed, and seven hundred and fifty wounded.

The enemy by their own confession had six hundred men killed, without reckoning the wounded, which were more than a thousand. Amongst their officers of note who fell on the spot, were Prince *Dolgoruki*, Colonel *Campan*, Major *Wogekowski*, and some others.

The *Russians* however loudly proclaimed, that they had got the advantage; and to impose on the publick, the Czar honoured the Knez *Repnin* with the Order of St. *Andrew*.

The King of *Sweden* gave an hundred crowns to a single soldier, who cast himself into the bog and killed a *Russian* officer that had taken a pair of *Swedish* colours; and afterwards advanced him on the first opportunity.

The LIFE and HISTORY of

On the third of *September*, having first buried the dead, the King decamped; and as soon as he had passed *Nappa*, or *Czarnapata*, he encamped at a quarter of a league from thence, at a place called *Walowniki*.

The same day Count *Rbeinschild* Velt-Marshal, accompanied with many Generals, went to reconnoitre the Czar's camp; but he found that Prince had quitted *Dobra* two days before, and was retired towards *Smolensko*, having left behind him some thousand Cossacks who had orders to attend us with a flying camp.

On the fourth, we came to *Bezvodice* (two leagues), and the next day to *Ivony* (two leagues and a half), always following the Czar's rout, in order to oblige him at last to stand his ground; so that we encamped those two days on the same spot where the *Russians* had encamped the evening before. At *Ivony* we halted till the eighth, on which the army advanced (a league and a half), to *Raikowa*.

We shall see the continuation of this march in the following Letter, written by the Author to the Duke of . . . ; and we will add at the bottom of the page, some remarks taken out of the Journal, to supply and explain the text of this Letter.

MY LORD,

" I had the honour to write to your Serene
 " Highness, the tenth of *November*, by a courier,
 " which the Field-master *Mazeppa* sent to his
 " Majesty the King of *Poland*. That Letter was
 " very short^k; but I had at that time no oppor-
 " tunity

• This Letter was lost.

“tunity to write a longer. I embrace the present
 “occasion with pleasure, since I am now able
 “to send your Serene Highness a faithful re-
 “cital of what hath happened to us: for we
 “have hitherto been able to give no account of
 “ourselves, whilst our enemies, as some letters
 “which we have intercepted inform us, have not
 “been backward in publishing reports very
 “much to our disadvantage.

“To continue this Journal, I shall go back to
 “the month of *September*, and shall begin by
 “entertaining your Serene Highness with the
 “particulars of a rencounter, which his Ma-
 “jesty had with a large detachment of the e-
 “nemy the tenth of this month. Your Serene
 “Highness is to be informed, that the army
 “marched that day in several columns; for we
 “had no open plains to pass over. When
 “we were advanced a league, we came to a
 “bridge near a mill, which the enemy who had
 “set fire to it, had not had time to burn
 “entirely.

“The column which the King led, having
 “past the bridge, perceived the enemy’s troops
 “on the left. This was General *Baver*’s bri-
 “gade, which had attended and observed us
 “during our march¹, which gave the King a
 “desire of chasing them. That column which
 “was placed to the left of the army, ought to
 “have been near at hand; but was so far
 “behind, that it could give us no assistance.
 “The King therefore putting himself at the
 “head of the *Ostrogoth* horse, which was of
 “his own column, hastened to the enemy,
 “who had hid seventy squadrons behind some
 “little

¹ General *Baver* had with him more than ten thousand
 dragons.

“ little woods. The King soon overthrew those
 “ he attacked, but found himself invironed by
 “ a greater number, without reckoning Cossacks
 “ and Calmucks.”

“ The battle became obstinate, and the King’s
 “ person was never exposed to such danger as
 “ now. Whilst the squadron which the King
 “ led was surrounded on all sides, and had no-
 “ thing left but to break through sword in
 “ hand, his Majesty’s horse was unluckily kil-
 “ led under him. By divine providence, which
 “ was careful to preserve his Majesty, Adju-
 “ tant-General *Thuro Hard*, who fought by his
 “ side, was killed at that instant; so that the
 “ King instantly took his horse, and continued
 “ the battle till the arrival of a greater num-
 “ ber of his troops, who soon decided the af-
 “ fair, breaking the enemy and forcing them
 “ to give back. Many were killed on both
 “ sides; and Adjutant *Rasensierna*, whom the
 “ King had sent at the beginning to bring up
 “ the horse, as he was returning at the head
 “ of a squadron, was wounded, and died a few
 “ hours afterwards.”

“ His Highness the Prince of *Wurtemberg*
 “ was that day in great danger of being ta-
 “ ken prisoner, he had headed a squadron
 “ and led them to the charge; but when
 “ they came to the attack, this Prince hurried
 “ into the midst of the enemy, whom he
 “ now saw himself obliged to follow for some
 “ time.”

“ These were some thousand. We had about fifty men
 “ and Cossacks and Calmucks killed, with the two Adju-
 “ of General *Renn*’s Brigade, tants whom we have men-
 “ which was composed of six tioned; but the enemy lost
 “ thousand dragoons and foot, many more.
 “ and marched on our right.”

“ time as one of their own party. By good
 “ luck, the smoke and dust prevented his being
 “ known, and when the troops returned to
 “ the charge, the Prince disengaged himself at
 “ the price of the commanding officer’s life,
 “ into whom he plunged his sword up to the
 “ hilt; and then giving spurs to his horse, re-
 “ joined the *Swedcs*, the enemy having sent
 “ several shot after him to no effect.

“ Colonel *Dabldorff* distinguished himself
 “ very eminently in this rencounter. After
 “ our horse had pursued the enemy for some
 “ time, the King commanded them to stop
 “ at a morass, which separated the two par-
 “ ties. We were then advanced a league be-
 “ yond the foot, and the baggage; but his
 “ Majesty resolved to return and encamp near
 “ the villages of *Atokki* and *Raikowa*.

“ We were but half a league’s distance from
 “ the frontiers of *Muscovy*; but the enemy not
 “ sparing their own country, laid all the
 “ towns and villages in ashes, destroying e-
 “ very thing for a circumference of ten or
 “ twelve miles: so that nothing but fire was
 “ seen any where, and the air was so darken-
 “ ed with the smoke, that we could hardly
 “ see the sun.

“ On the eleventh his Majesty decamped
 “ with the army, and proceeded a league on
 “ that side, where the battle had been fought
 “ the day before; but past not the frontiers,
 “ coasting along their side only, and far down
 “ near a town called *Staricki*, where we stay-
 “ ed some days, as well to give our army a

“ little

“ He disengaged the King from the hands of the enemy which
 by overthrowing those squa- surrounded his Majesty.

“ little repose, as to procure them some bread,
 “ of which the scarcity encreased considerably.
 “ As the Peasants have a custom among them
 “ of keeping all their corn under ground, we
 “ applied ourselves to seeking it out, grinding
 “ it, and making it into bread; the Cossacks
 “ at the same time giving daily molestation
 “ to our guards and foragers.

“ The Czar with the gros of the *Muscovite*
 “ army, which consisted of horse, was retired
 “ some leagues off; but Velt-Marshal *Sche-*
 “ *remethof* had gained *Smolensko* with the ma-
 “ jor part of the foot, in his way to which
 “ place he cut down a wood, in order to shut
 “ out the King from passing through that
 “ Country.

“ The King, who hitherto had flattered
 “ himself that he should be able to bring the
 “ Czar to a pitch'd battle, saw by this play
 “ that he should never accomplish it, and
 “ that he should suffer too much by advanc-
 “ ing any farther; he resolved therefore to
 “ penetrate by another rout, viz. by the
 “ Dutchy of *Severia*, tho' that was very diffi-
 “ cult, leading through forests almost impas-
 “ sable.

“ As it was necessary to get before the
 “ enemy, his Majesty detached Major-General
 “ *Lagercrona* with four thousand five hundred
 “ horse and foot, and six pieces of cannon,
 “ with orders to advance in the front towards
 “ the town of *Krusebow*, and to repair the
 “ roads for facilitating the march of the army,
 “ and also to throw bridges over the river
 “ *Soffa*.

“ Mr. *Lagercrona* marched out of the camp
 “ of *Stenisbo* in the night between the fourteenth
 “ and

“ and fifteenth of *September*, and the King
“ followed in the morning with all the army,
“ which marched in several columns. We
“ gained four leagues that day, and arrived at
“ the village of *Bistriza*, passing through *Mi-*
“ *likowa*, whence we had before come. From
“ hence the King continued his march on the
“ sixteenth to *Wolofniki*, (three leagues) and so
“ on the seventeenth to *Horbatka* through the
“ town of *Malacziza* (three leagues) where we
“ rested the eighteenth.

“ From *Horbatka* we marched on the nine-
“ teenth (one league) to *Kruischof*, where Mr.
“ *Lagercrona* had laid two bridges; he was
“ now ordered to go on farther, and cross
“ the shortest of the forests on that rout
“ which divided *Severia* from *Lithuania*, to
“ possess himself of the road, and secure the
“ passage over the river *Ipooz* (*Obiecz* in the
“ map) whence he was to gain the town of
“ *Poczoppo*, which covers the country on *Sm-*
“ *lensko* side, through which the enemy must
“ pass into *Severia*.

“ The King passed the *Soffa* at *Kruischof*,
“ the very day of his arrival, on which we
“ proceeded three leagues farther to *Lobza*.
“ After our passage of the *Soffa*, we entered
“ forthwith into a wood of above twenty leagues
“ extent, and where Mr. *Lagercrona* was mis-
“ led by the Peasants: for having swerved too
“ much to the right, he entirely declined from
“ the rout which was prescribed him, and fell
“ into that which was ordained to Count *Low-*
“ *enbaupt*, to whom the King sent orders to
“ pass the *Soffa* at *Propoisk*.

“ The King, who marched on the twentieth
“ from *Lobza* to the village of *Buda* (one
“ league

“ league and a half) immediately conceived
 “ that *Lagercrona* had missed his way, because
 “ he heard no more news of him; so being
 “ arrived on the twenty first from *Buda* at *Kort-*
 “ *kovice* (four leagues) he left his baggage behind,
 “ and advanced with the regiment of Guards,
 “ the *Dahl-Carlens*, and the Rear-guard of *La-*
 “ *gercrona*’s party, being three hundred horse
 “ commanded by a Major, who by accident
 “ had taken the right road.

“ His Majesty on the twenty second and
 “ twenty third proceeded (eight leagues) and
 “ entred into *Severia*, passing the little river of
 “ *Biesez* at a ford, there being no bridge. In
 “ the first village called *Niwna*, his Majesty
 “ reposed himself, and was joined by the Count
 “ and the *Drabans*; but the baggage followed
 “ slowly, being escorted by the regiment of
 “ *Upland* and other troops.

“ The King staid not long at *Niwna*; and
 “ having sent the Major before with the
 “ three hundred horse of *Lagercrona*’s detach-
 “ ment, to render himself master of the pass
 “ of the *Ipooz*; he followed very early on the
 “ twenty fourth, and encamped near the river
 “ *Ipooz*, in the village of *Drakowa*, two leagues
 “ from *Niwna*. On the twenty fifth, the bridge
 “ over the *Ipooz* being finished, he continued
 “ his march a league farther to *Kosfinice*, where
 “ we came forth from the great wood, and
 “ began to discover a better country.

“ The King waited here fifteen days for his
 “ army, who arrived by degrees, having suffered
 “ a little in the forest.”

“ The

“ The army wanted all this march; they had often
 “ manner of refreshments in neither bread nor beer, nor
 “ wine,

“ The Czar surprized to see his enemy
 “ turn back, flattered himself at first that
 “ they were returned into *Lithuania*; but being
 “ advertised of his passing the *Soffa* at *Kruis-*
 “ *chow*, he was too much convinced that the
 “ King of *Sweden* intended for *Severia*. As
 “ it was his interest to prevent him, he instantly
 “ dispatched Major-General *Island* at the head
 “ of four thousand horse, with orders to march
 “ day and night till he had got before the
 “ *Swedes*, and to throw some troops into the
 “ towns of *Severia*, which are fortified after
 “ the manner of that country with ramparts
 “ overcast with wood, and a moat.

“ This *Muscovite* General was followed pre-
 “ sently by Lieutenant-General *Ronn*, at the
 “ head of six regiments of dragoons; and these
 “ two commanders marched above thirty leagues
 “ in three days. Velt-Marshal *Scheremetbof*, hav-
 “ ing with him *Golz*, *Allart*, *Renzel*, and other
 “ Generals, followed *Island* and *Ronn*, with
 “ that body of foot which had encamped under
 “ *Smolensko*, all marching as fast as possible.

“ General

wine, nor brandy. At *Kru-*
ischof, they found a good
 quantity of salt, with a lit-
 tle brandy; but this sufficed
 not for an whole army: be-
 sides the march thro' these
 woods, of which there was
 hardly an end, and where
 they met a succession (with
 very little interruption) of
 bogs and difficult passages,
 was extremely fatiguing.
 Nevertheless, the hopes we
 conceived of seeing the *U-*
kraïne, and above all the
 admirable example of his

Majesty, his goodness, his
 patience, his unwearied la-
 bours, animated the troops
 to such a degree, that they
 would suffer any thing to
 follow him. At our com-
 ing out of the wood, and
 first entrance into *Severia*, we
 discovered a fine country full
 of beautiful and large vil-
 lages, but they were all de-
 serted, the inhabitants hav-
 ing fled on all sides at our
 approach: We only found
 forage for our horses, and
 that in a great quantity.

“ General *Baver*, who was with the Czar’s
 “ army, was detached with six thousand horse,
 “ who were to follow close at the heels of the
 “ King. He fell in near the town of *Kruischof*
 “ with our rear-guard, under the command of
 “ Major-General *Cruus*, which he ordered
 “ Major-General *Michos* with two thousand
 “ dragoons to attack. *Michos* was so smartly
 “ received by Lieutenant-Colonel *Grotbusen*,
 “ who made head against him with some few
 “ squadrons only ; that he lost three hundred
 “ men on the spot, after which, retreating with
 “ precipitation, he had no stomach to a second
 “ attack.

“ The Czar who had kept his best troops
 “ with him, knowing that General *Lowenbaupt*
 “ had not yet joined the King’s army, and that
 “ this General was in full march to pass the
 “ *Dnieper*, resolved to go and attack him, and
 “ to cut off his march towards *Sossa*, which
 “ *Lowenbaupt* had orders to pass at *Propoisk*,
 “ or elsewhere if he found it more convenient.^a

“ With this design the Czar went to meet
 “ *Lowenbaupt*, who passed the *Dnieper* on the
 “ twenty second and twenty third of *September*,
 “ drawing according to his orders directly to-
 “ wards the *Sossa*, though he doubted not but
 “ that the enemy would attack him.

“ On the twenty sixth the van-guard of the
 “ enemy appeared ; and the twenty seventh and
 “ twenty eighth passed in little skirmishes,
 “ wherein the enemy was always beaten. On
 “ the twenty ninth, Count *Lowenbaupt* having
 “ gained

^a *Lowenbaupt* departed from *Riga* about the middle of *Aug.* at the head of eleven thousand men, and arrived the twenty fourth at *Polocz-*

he, having with him above seven hundred waggons laden with provisions and ammunition.

“gained some ground of them, notwithstanding
 “the heavy baggage, and quantity of waggons
 “loaded with provisions for three months,
 “which he drew after him, was at no greater
 “distant than two leagues from *Propoisk*,
 “when the gros of the enemy’s army presented
 “itself before him, and against which he made
 “head, as your Serene Highness will see by
 “the following Relation which I have the honour to send you.”

A true Relation of the bloody battle fought near Liesna in the Palatinate of Micislaw, two leagues from Propoisk, between the troops of his Swedish Majesty, commanded by Count Adam-Lewis Lowenhaupt; and the Russian army commanded by his Czarish Majesty and his principal Generals, on the twenty ninth of September 1708.

After Count *Lowenhaupt* had received orders to pass with his army through *Propoisk* and *Starodub*, in order to go and join his Majesty, he passed the *Dnieper* the twenty first and twenty third of *September* near *Sklow*; over a bridge of boats, though the Czar who lay with his army near *Horki*, *Drebben* and *Romanow*, ten leagues from *Sklow*, might have easily disputed the passage:

The first day this general pursued his march without any molestation from the enemy; but on the next some of their troops appeared, and on the twenty fifth about two thousand dragoons approached to attack our rear-guard, which consisted of three hundred horse, and as many foot; but as soon as our rear-guard faced

about to receive them, they durst not attack us, but retired in haste.

On the twenty sixth the army arrived near *Bieliza*, which is a very difficult and dangerous pass. Here the enemy appeared in great numbers. General *Lowenhaupt* gave orders to place the baggage in the front, where it proceeded with a number of troops to guard it, and he followed himself at the head of the regiments. The same order was observed on the twenty seventh.

As we were now informed that all the enemy's cavalry was at hand, the Count *de Lowenhaupt* presently ranged his own on two lines, and placed his foot in the rear in a valley where they were hid from the enemy: when the battle was begun, these were to enter at some openings which the horse leave between the squadrons. This disposition disconcerted the enemy, who were ranged in order of battle, and did not expect this motion. General *Lowenhaupt*, who instantly perceived the order in which they stood, went to the right, and Major-General *Stackelberg* to the left, and marched at the same time with the two lines to attack the enemy, who turned their backs and ran away full speed. We followed them half a league without being able to overtake them; but Lieutenant-Colonel *Zoge*, who was in our front with some squadrons, and who briskly pursued their rear-guard, had the good fortune to overtake some of the hindmost, of whom he killed many, and brought off eight prisoners.

We learnt from the prisoners that the horse we had pursued was commanded by *Menzikof* and *Pflug*, who led the van; and that the Czar followed with the whole army. This made
Lowenhaupt

Lowenbaupt resolve to pursue his way, which he did, with a thousand difficulties, on account of the continual defiles, and the deep and almost unpassable morasses, which very much retarded his march, and occasioned the General to give orders to his troops to lie this night on their arms in the open field, to be ready on any accident.

The enemy hastened their march to that degree, that on the twenty eighth in the morning they began a fresh attack on our rear-guard, which received them so briskly, not only by the fire of their small arms, but likewise from their cannon, (having placed two pieces behind a defile, through which their march lay), that they could make no impression, and were at last obliged to let us follow our march; and though the enemy afterwards tried at different places, especially on a bridge which our men had laid over a little river, to attack us with all their force, they were nevertheless every where repulsed with great valour, though they had already received their cannon, and tho' the Czar was come up with all the foot.

After we had placed the baggage in a safe situation, the horse marched first, and then the foot, drawing towards *Liesna*, where we arrived at four in the evening, and encamped here on a narrow spot of ground. The General immediately ordered the troops which formed the van-guard, to set about repairing the bridges over the morasses, which was near our camp, and to repair the roads through a wood, where the enemy had thrown down a great quantity of trees, that he might open and render the rout to *Propoisk* more commodious for the next day.

As we were apprised, while we were taking these measures, that some of the enemy's troops had already posted themselves at *Propoisk*, and that some other detachments were passing by us, General *Lowenhaupt* thought proper, on the twenty ninth at break of day, to detach Quarter-Master-General *Brask* with seven hundred horse and foot drawn out of different regiments, together with the regiment of foot of *Abo-Lehn*, and the dragoons of *Carelia* and *Schreiterfelt*. These troops had orders to advance in the front, and were followed by half the baggage, and that detachment which was to guard it. Next marched the regiment of horse of *Abo-Lehn*, the dragoons of Colonel *Skog*, and Colonel *Leyon* with the battalion of *Nyland*, who were followed by the other half of the baggage. The rest of the army remained on the borders of the wood, to watch the motions of the enemy, and prevent their attacking the baggage.

The enemy had found means to defile and draw up all their forces in order of battle in the wood, which, not being very thick, afforded room enough for their troops. They came out upon us all at once, without our expecting them, and began their attack about eleven o'clock.

Our General after visiting the ground, and viewing the situation of the field of battle, drew up his foot facing the wood, and being himself dismounted at the head of his own regiment of foot, and the battalions of *Helsingois* and *Abo-Lehn*, he led them on, ordering the other regiments to second him; as likewise all the troops which were on this side the pass near the baggage to join him. When they were at about musquet-shot distance from

from the enemy, the General mounted and rode towards the horse, who at the same time with the foot attacked the enemy with such fury and success, that they were forthwith compelled to give ground, and were at last driven out of the wood where we took four pieces of cannon.

So happy a beginning extremely animated the troops, and made them hope for a speedy defeat of the enemy. But as they were infinitely our superiours in number, and were every moment bringing up fresh troops against us, it happened by mistake, and through the fault of an officer, that the *Swedes*, who were already masters of the wood, instead of being seconded according to the General's orders, were led back during his absence over the plain towards those other regiments who were advancing to support them. This not only occasioned some confusion, but gave the enemy, who were reinforced by fresh troops, an opportunity to repossess themselves of the wood, and to point their cannon.

Count *Lowenhaupt*, in despair at this mistake, had now no other course left him but to advance his artillery, which struck such a terror into the *Russians*, that they retired, and did not dare to make use of their advantage. Colonel *Wrangle* was afterwards ordered to attack the enemy's fresh body with all the regiments of foot that were present, in order to drive them out of the wood. On our attempt to penetrate into the wood, the *Muscovites* came forth on the plain, forming themselves into four lines of foot, which were ranged behind one another. We attacked them with such fury, that having staggered the first line, we drove them back on the second, which pushed back the others:

being thus driven into the wood, where they met with a support of fresh troops; and having advantage of the trees and the bushes, it was impossible for our foot, notwithstanding all the efforts they made, to push them farther.

Whilst our foot were performing wonders, our horse overthrew the enemy's squadrons as often as they advanced to the charge, and often pushed them as far as the wood, where they were always supported by their foot, without whose assistance they would have come very ill off.

This battle lasted from noon till night, in which the enemy was always driven back into the woods with great loss as often as they came forth, notwithstanding the fresh troops which they brought up against us, and which were continually relieved. There were three principal actions, the foot returning every time ranged in four lines, and the horse which formed the two wings in five or six, whilst we had only a single line to oppose them with, the rest of our troops having as is already said gone forward with the baggage. This line moreover was not long enough to prevent the enemy's flanking it, which did not fail to happen during the three actions, in which six thousand *Swedes* sustained from the beginning a most dreadful fire, from an army five times at least their superiours in number, reckoning only the *Muscovites*.

In the first action, when the enemy's foot attempted to follow the *Swedish* regiments which were drawn back, as we have said, out of the wood into the plain, without the knowledge of the General and contrary to his orders, our horse fell on them sword in hand, and routed them in such a manner, that quitting their ranks
they

they fled with precipitation into the wood. The enemy's horse being advanced behind to support the foot, had the same fate, and were driven back with like force a great way among the trees, without giving them time to recover their order, till they were at last supported by their foot.

In the second action, the *Swedish* foot, as we have seen, not only overthrew the four lines of foot on the plain, but pursued them a great way within the wood; where the enemy bringing up fresh troops, and making use of their cannon, obliged our regiments to retreat, which they did however in good order. Our horse at the same time repulsed those of the enemy with equal success; though some of our squadrons being advanced too far into the wood, suffered a little from the enemy's foot.

At the third general shock, the enemy made their last and greatest efforts, leading on fresh troops just arrived to attack our six thousand *Swedes*, who quite spent with fatigue, and being so much their inferiours in number, could not hinder them from making themselves masters of the pass towards *Propoisk*; but when our regiments which had marched in the front, and were already advanced a league and a half, having received orders to turn back to our assistance, had returned and joined us; we attacked the enemy all together with so much valour, that they were put to flight, and lost on this occasion seventeen Standards, and two pair of Kettle-Drums, which we took in the rout. At the same time our cannons, which were charged with musquet-balls made such terrible havock, especially on a regiment which was cloathed in green, and advanced beyond the

others, that the ground was covered over with dead bodies, very few escaping.

After this battle, the General having drawn up his army, stood on the field till very late at night, to see if the enemy had any farther design of attacking him; but they were too much dismayed by the last action, seeing that all their efforts which had cost them so many lives had been fruitless; for they were forced to abandon the field of battle: they began therefore to retreat, first with the left wing of their army, and afterwards with all their foot, penetrating farther into the wood where they kindled several fires.

This retreat of the enemy caused a resolution in General *Lowenhaupt*, who thought not proper to attack them again on this spot, to continue his march; hoping to find on his rout a more advantageous ground in case that the enemy had a desire to follow him, and to give him battle a second time. So after having stood some hours in order of battle, he caused Vespers to be said quietly, and then gave orders to the regiments to defile one after another into the road. This was all executed in good order; nor did the enemy, who was drawn up in battalia hard by, and saw all that was done, dare to molest us in the least degree.

As several waggons had run foul of each other during the darkness of the night, by which they stopt up the way, and hindred the march of one part of the artillery which had served in the battle and could not come on, the General ordered the cannons to be sunk in the bogs, that the march might not be retarded. Near *Propoisk* our regiments joined the greatest part of the baggage which was sent before; but

but as the enemy had reduced this little town to ashes, and as we could not find any wood to build a bridge, and the enemy's troops began to appear facing us, the General took a resolution to turn on one side; and reflecting on the difficulty of dragging along with him a vast quantity of baggage, with which he was to pass three rivers, and woods of twenty leagues in length, where the enemy might always stop him by every moment harassing and retarding his march, he ordered the best part of the baggage, and such as could conveniently be carried on, to be preserved, and the rest with all the waggons to be destroyed. This was executed directly, and the General having distributed the baggage horses among the foot, continued his journey.

It was impossible on this occasion to hinder several of the soldiers and servants from intoxicating themselves with wine, brandy, and other liquors, which occasioned them to lie behind, and for the most part fall into the hands of the Cossacks; and I believe, one might safely say, that these were almost the only prisoners made by the enemy during the whole march.

Before we had quitted *Propoisk*, an alarm was spread of the enemy's approach. The General instantly ordered some regiments to face about, which ranged themselves in order of battle near the town on a little plain; but when he saw that they were only the Cossacks, he ordered his men to defile through the wood, all along the side of the river, with hopes to find an easy place to pass the *Sossa*, which he did near the village of *Glewina*, four leagues from *Propoisk*, where five hundred horse swam over easily the same night.

The

The next day being the first of *October*, the rest of the troops swam over likewise; and now the whole army having passed the river, the General pursued his march very commodiously through those great woods, and passed the rivers of *Biesez* and *Ipocs* without any opposition; and being at last arrived in the great plains of *Severia*, he rested his troops.

As soon as General *Lowenbaupt* decamped on the tenth, to join his Majesty, General *Von Worden* attacked us with four thousand horse; but was so well received that he retired in confusion, after having lost upwards of four hundred men, who were killed on the spot. After this rencounter, the General arrived the same evening at *Turkowa*, where he found a *Swedish* party arrived there before him, and on the thirteenth he joined the King at *Rukowa*, which was the Head-Quarters.

The loss of the enemy in the above-mentioned battle was considerable. *Schultz*, the *Muscovite* Adjutant-General, who was taken prisoner some time afterwards, confess'd, that it amounted to upwards of six thousand men, who were killed on the spot; without reckoning the wounded, which were a much greater number. *Menzikoff's* brigade, consisting of six regiments, was almost entirely destroyed; as were the regiments of the Czar's guards of *Preobrasinski* and *Semenoffski*, which suffered terribly. Amongst the persons of note, the Prince of *Hesse-Darmstadt*, General *Baver*, and a great number of officers were wounded, and the first died of his wounds. We had near three thousand men killed, with many officers of distinction.

Count

Count *Lowenhaupt* performed on this occasion, whatever was in the power of valour or conduct, exposing himself in all places where the fire was most violent. He received two wounds, which did not however prevent him from staying in the battle till it was over.

It is certainly a truth, that our troops never fought with more bravery and firmness, notwithstanding the extraordinary inequality of numbers, than on this day; six thousand men having sustained the whole efforts of more than thirty thousand, without staggering or losing one foot of ground, from noon till night: and tho' the field of battle was marshy, and also very close and streight; and that during the fight itself, the wind drove both hail and snow into the eyes of our soldiers, they defended themselves, notwithstanding all these disadvantages, like lions till the night: so that we must have obtained a compleat victory, if we had had more room to act in, and if the General could have departed from the King's orders, and instead of following his Majesty, as his instructions were, through woods and grievous defiles, where it was easy for the enemy to cut us off and harass us every minute, could have waited for them and attacked them with all his forces on an advantageous ground in an open field. All those, who were present at this bloody battle, thought they could never sufficiently admire how gloriously our troops delivered themselves out of such difficult straits.

“ I

* Other Historians relate this action more in favour of the Czar, who is said to have gotten a complete vic-

tory, and to have possessed himself of a vast quantity of the *Swedish* waggons; and that *Lowenhaupt*, who is agreed

“ I shall only add, *My Lord*, to this relation,
 “ that Prince *Menzikof* being ordered to fol-
 “ low Count *Lowenbaupt*, and enter *Severia*
 “ on that side, passed the *Soffa* near *Hommel*,
 “ and entered the country through *Czernikow*.
 “ As to the Czar, he returned to *Smolensko*
 “ with the rest of his army, and the wounded,
 “ which were a great many.

“ I have told your Serene Highness, that
 “ his Majesty spent fifteen days at *Kossinice*.
 “ This village is situated at the entry of a
 “ great wood, twelve leagues from *Starodub*,
 “ and seven from *Potschopo*. Notwithstanding
 “ our utmost diligence, the enemy, if they did
 “ not get before us, at least entered along
 “ with us into the country. The first step
 “ which *Island* took, was to possess himself in-
 “ stantly of *Starodub* and *Potschopo*, to ob-
 “ serve the future march of the *Swedes*, and
 “ burn all the villages through which they were
 “ to pass.

“ We

greed to have made a fine
 retreat, brought no more
 than the fourth part of his
 men to the King. An ac-
 count, I think, not so pro-
 bable as that given by our
 Author: for if this army
 had been so nearly destroy-
 ed, it must have been an un-
 pardonable fault either in
 the Czar or his Generals, to
 have suffered those few shat-
 tered remains to have join-
 ed the King in an orderly
 retreat.

“ *Island* had placed the
 Cossack *Skoropatki* at *Staro-*

dub, in quality of Comman-
 dant, with two thousand
 dragoons and some thou-
 sand Cossacks, who made
 continual excursions to ha-
 rass us. *Maxeppa* had, in
 truth, given orders that the
 first who presented them-
 selves before the gates of this
 town, should be let in, sup-
 posing that the *Swedes* would
 be there before the *Russians*;
 but it fell out otherwise, by
 the fault of *Lagercrona*; the
 inhabitants therefore let *Skoropatki* enter, which was very
 prejudicial to us.

“ We were some days at *Kossinice* before we
 “ had any news of Major-General *Lagercrona*,
 “ who, instead of going out of the wood near
 “ *Potschopo*, went out two leagues from *Starodub*;
 “ so that the enemy had time to take
 “ all their measures of precaution, before his
 “ arrival: when he afterwards took his rout
 “ to join the King, he received orders to return
 “ towards *Starodub*, in order to watch the mo-
 “ tions of the *Muscovites* who were fortifying
 “ themselves more and more, and to endea-
 “ vour to prevent them from burning the vil-
 “ lages. Colonel *Hamilton* was detached to
 “ join *Lagercrona* with a thousand horse, that
 “ he might be in the better condition to put a
 “ stop to the desolation which the enemy
 “ were making.

“ The King decamped from *Kossinice* the
 “ eleventh of *October*, and taking the road to
 “ the *Ukrain*, he advanced the first day three
 “ leagues to *Bialaborst*, where he remained till
 “ the twelfth. The army marched in different
 “ columns, all led by Major-Generals. From
 “ *Bialaborst* we went the thirteenth to *Ru-*
 “ *chowwa* (three leagues), where Count *Lowen-*
 “ *haupt* with his troops joined the King. The
 “ march was continued on the fourteenth from
 “ *Ruchowa* to *Skolkow* (two leagues), where
 “ the King commanded Colonel *Albedybl* with
 “ twelve squadrons to cover his march to the
 “ right, where *Menzikof* was, and to hinder
 “ the

* *Lagercrona* did not act with prudence on this important occasion, in applying to traitors and drunken fellows, who conducted him very ill through the great wood, which prevented our being masters of the principal towns in *Severia*.

“ the enemy from burning the country through
 “ which he was to pass ”.

“ On the sixteenth of *October*, we marched
 “ from *Skolkow* two leagues to *Czerenkowa*.
 “ On the eighteenth the King passed by the
 “ town of *Starodub* to the right; the rest of
 “ the army passing at the same time on the
 “ left side of it. We made three leagues to
 “ *Kartuczina*. The enemy which was in *Sta-*
 “ *rodub* came out that day, and did some mis-
 “ chief to our baggage.

“ From *Kartuczina* we went on the nine-
 “ teenth to *Panorofka*, where we rested some
 “ days. Here Mr. *Lagercrona* returned with
 “ his party.

“ *Velt-Marshal Scheremethof* in the mean
 “ time having entered the country with his
 “ foot, and having under him the Generals
 “ *Goltz*, *Allart*, *Renzel* and others, kept up
 “ even with the King’s army on the left, with-
 “ out daring to attack us; so that nothing re-
 “ markable passed, unless that General *Island*
 “ having with four regiments of dragoons
 “ taken possession of a pass near that column,
 “ which was led by General *Creutz*, this
 “ General ordered Colonel *Hamilton*, who
 “ had now joined him with his detachment,
 “ to attack *Island*. *Hamilton* forced the pass,
 “ killed many of his men, and put the rest to
 “ flight.

“ The enemy seeing the rout which the
 “ King of *Sweden* had taken, failed not
 “ to throw some troops into *Novogorod Sewi-*
 “ *erski*,

“ This delicious country living soul, nor any kind
 was a meer desert. In the of provisions. All were shut
 villages, which are very up within the towns.
 large, there was not one

“ *erski*, the capital of the Province, and fortified
 “ like the other places ; so that General *Creutz*,
 “ whom the King ordered to make himself
 “ master of it, came too late, the enemy hav-
 “ ing been before-hand with him. He was
 “ then ordered, with General *Cruus*, to attend
 “ the motions of *Scheremethof* ; who, fearing an
 “ attack, cast bridges over the river *Dezna*, and
 “ made his army pass over.

“ The enemy left off burning, that they
 “ might not incense the *Cossacks* ; and so much
 “ the rather as the *Swedes* did no such thing, and
 “ as they saw that all the dreadful waste they
 “ had committed could not stop the King of
 “ *Sweden*’s march through a country which a-
 “ bounded with many good things, and espe-
 “ cially forage ; which the King’s Cavalry, ut-
 “ terly fatigued with the terrible march they
 “ had made, did not lose the advantage of, tho’
 “ they were in motion.

“ The King of *Sweden*’s rout towards the
 “ *Ukrain* was very agreeable to *Mazeppa*“,
 “ Great General of the *Cossacks* ; who being
 “ very ill satisfied with the Czar’s government,
 “ had formed a design to shake off the yoke,
 “ and throw himself into the protection of the
 “ King of *Sweden*. But as great circumspec-
 “ tion was necessary, he had trusted this de-
 “ sign only to two or three principal men of
 “ the country, of whose fidelity he was per-
 “ suaded ; and to conceal his game the better,
 “ he had sent his nephew *Woniarowski* to
 “ Prince

“ Mr. *Stensfycht*, Lieute-
 nant-General of the *French*
 armies, at present Comman-
 dant of *Hambourgh*, married
 a relation of *Mazeppa*,

namely the daughter of
 Felt-Herr *Orlik*, who hath
 been a long time at *Con-*
stantinople.

“ Prince *Menzikof*, at the time when he approached *Czernikow* after the battle with *Lowenhaupt*, to assure the Czar of his submission and fidelity, and to excuse his not coming himself, on the account of a distemper, which he used as a pretence.

“ *Mazeppa* very dexterously employed a *Livonian*, a subject of the King of *Sweden*, who having been made a prisoner at the beginning of the war, had been transported into this country, where he had since lived with his family. This man was sent secretly, accompanied by one of his relations, with necessary instructions to insinuate *Mazeppa*’s intentions to the King. These arrived when his Majesty was at *Panarofka*, and were presently dispatched according to their wishes.

“ But whether *Menzikof* had any intelligence of *Mazeppa*’s design, or whether he only doubted it, *Woniarowski*, soon perceived that he had no good inclination, either to him or to his uncle; and being warned at the same time to keep on his guard, he resolved to set out without taking leave. At his return *Mazeppa* pretended to be very much displeased at the young man’s conduct, and complained thereof to a *Muscovite* Colonel, who was always about him by the Czar’s orders, to watch his actions; desiring him to go and make his excuse to Prince *Menzikof*, and to endeavour to remove all those suspicions which he might have conceived against him.

“ The Colonel, deceived by these pretences, went to wait on *Menzikof*; and *Mazeppa*, charmed at the removal of his over-looker, left a garrison in *Baturin*, which was his re-

“ fidence,

“ fidence, with orders to the Commandant, to
“ defend the place to the last extremity; and
“ went himself over the *Dezna*, in the com-
“ pany of four or five thousand men, being the
“ principal persons of the country.

“ The King of *Sweden*, who advanced towards
“ the same river, marched the twenty-second
“ from *Panarofka* (four leagues), to *Mazow-
“ buta*; from whence on the twenty-third of
“ *October*, he proceeded three leagues farther,
“ to *Larinoska*; and, on the twenty-fifth,
“ came to *Harki* (two leagues), passing near
“ the town of *Novograd Sewieeski*, where Ge-
“ neral *Ronn* commanded.

“ As to *Mazeppa*, after having passed the
“ *Dezna*, he drew directly towards the *Swedish*
“ quarters, the troops which he had with him
“ believing that he intended to attack them;
“ but when he was within a little distance he
“ disclosed his design, which none of them
“ opposed. He afterwards advanced to a vil-
“ lage, where were the Colonels *Hielm* and
“ *Gyllenstierna*, with their regiments of dragoons,
“ who were a little alarmed.

“ *Mazeppa* having sent one to the *Swedes* to
“ notify his arrival, Colonel *Hielm* was pre-
“ vailed on with great difficulty to believe the
“ messenger, imagining it a snare laid for him.
“ He ordered his troops to mount their horses,
“ and as he had in his regiment an *Italian* Cap-
“ tain, named *De Saxe*, who had some time served
“ the *Muscovites*, and who personally knew *Ma-
“ zeppa*, he sent him to him, with some dragoons,
“ to enquire into the bottom of the affair. The
“ Captain returned, and reported that *Mazeppa*
“ was there in person, whom *Hielm* then re-
“ ceived with all suitable honours. The Cos-
VOL III. F sack.

“ sack-General remained there the next day,
 “ being the twenty-eighth; on which he ob-
 “ liged his Chiefs to confirm their confedera-
 “ cy by a solemn oath. Colonel *Hiehn* sent
 “ immediate advice of this matter to the
 “ King, who was but three leagues off; and
 “ who gave forthwith orders to prepare quar-
 “ ters for *Mazeppa* half a league from *Horki*,
 “ where he arrived the same evening.

“ The next day was fixed for *Mazeppa*’s au-
 “ dience. He arrived at the court, accompani-
 “ ed with the Chiefs of the Country, *viz.* the
 “ Quarter-Master-General, the Chief Judge,
 “ the Chancellor, the two Aid-de-Camp Ge-
 “ nerals, and several Colonels. His train con-
 “ sisted of a thousand persons, and before
 “ him was carried the two ensigns of his dignity,
 “ namely, an Horse’s tail and a General’s trun-
 “ cheon.

“ *Mazeppa* being come into the King’s pre-
 “ sence, harangued him in *Latin*. His dis-
 “ course was short, but well pointed. He be-
 “ seeched his Majesty to protect the Cossacks,
 “ and gave God thanks that he had been pleas-
 “ ed to deliver them from that slavery, with
 “ which they had been for some time threatned
 “ by the Czar. He afterwards kiss’d the
 “ King’s hand; and as he was troubled with
 “ the gout, he was permitted to sit down,
 “ while the King remained standing, and rea-
 “ soned with him.

“ *Mazeppa* is a man of sixty-four years of
 “ age, of a middle stature and thin, with a
 “ stern look, and wearing his Mustaches after
 “ the *Polish* manner; he is nevertheless of a
 “ very pleasant temper, and delights much in
 “ making jests. He speaks very properly,
 “ and

“ and there is much good sense in all he
 “ says ; he hath studied formerly, and speaks
 “ the *Latin* Tongue very well. His character
 “ approaches very near to that of the late Grand
 “ Treasurer *Sapieba*, whom your Serene High-
 “ nefs hath seen in *Saxony*.

“ The King was much pleased with his con-
 “ versation, which he suffered him to continue
 “ till noon, sometimes on more serious matters,
 “ in presence of his Excellency Count *Piper*,
 “ and the two Secretaries of State ; sometimes
 “ in the company of the principal Officers and
 “ Cossack-Ministers, who had the permission
 “ to come into the King’s presence, and to
 “ kiss his hand. When the hour of dinner
 “ was come, the King sat down at table, and
 “ with him *Mazeppa* and his Officers of the
 “ first rank. Besides the King’s table, there
 “ were two great tables prepared for the Cos-
 “ sack-Ministers, who were likewise invited by
 “ Count *Piper* and *Rheinschild*.

“ After dinner the King returned to his
 “ chamber, whither *Mazeppa* had the horse’s-
 “ tail brought, which he shewed to the King,
 “ and laid at his Majesty’s feet, as a token of
 “ his submission : he then retired, and when he
 “ mounted his horse his trumpets sounded,
 “ which brought all his people together to at-
 “ tend him, who all gave great demonstration
 “ of respect to his person.

“ *Mazeppa* now received advice, that a *Mus-*
 “ *covite* party had been commanded to surprize
 “ him ; and that the same party had carried
 “ off some waggons belonging to his troops
 “ near the *Dezna*. The King ordered Colonel
 “ *Dabldorff* the same evening, with six hun-
 “ dred horse and three hundred Cossacks, to

“ repair to *Blonia* on the *Dezna*, five leagues
 “ from his Majesty’s quarters, to watch the
 “ motions of the enemy, and cover the right
 “ of the army.

“ The rest remained at *Horki* from the
 “ twenty-fifth of *October*, to the last of this
 “ month. Velt - Marshal *Scheremethof* was
 “ posted with his troops along the *Dezna*,
 “ with design to prevent the King of *Sweden*’s
 “ passage.

“ On the thirty-first of *October* the King
 “ decamped from *Horki* with his column, and
 “ went a league and a half to *Ignotofka* ; and
 “ having resolved to throw bridges over the
 “ river at one league from thence, at the vil-
 “ lage of *Mezin*, however great the difficulty
 “ was, with which he was to struggle to get at
 “ this place, he would not decline his purpose.
 “ He went attended by the Prince of *Wurten-*
 “ *berg* and Major-General *Axel Sparre*, and
 “ followed by his regiment of foot-guards,
 “ and by the *Dabl-Carlens* foot, to order the
 “ passage.

“ The column under *Sparre* having soon
 “ joined them, they fell presently to work
 “ on the bridges ; but the frost coming upon
 “ them, so filled the river with cakes of ice
 “ that nothing was to be done that day. As
 “ this gave the enemy time, and the King ima-
 “ gined they would not fail to come and dis-
 “ pute the passage with him, his Majesty pla-
 “ ced twenty-eight pieces of cannon on some
 “ rising ground bordering on his side of the
 “ river, and which commanded the country
 “ on the other side.

" We soon discovered the enemy, who did
" not however, for fear of our cannon, ap-
" proach while it was day-light; but as night
" came on, they took the advantage of some
" bushes, with which the banks on their side
" were furnished: so that on the first of *No-*
" *vember* in the morning, we perceived they
" had raised a battery on the left of our Ar-
" tillery. The enemy's fire was very weak,
" the gross of their troops keeping always at
" a distance, our cannon being very successfully
" discharged on them as often as they ven-
" tured to approach.

" The second was the day, destin'd by the
" King for the passage; but as the batteries of
" the enemy hindered us from attempting
" the river where its banks were most easy to
" be climbed up on the other side, and where
" it was our first business to post some of our
" men; we were obliged to seek after another
" place, which by its difficulty rendered this
" perhaps the most extraordinary passage that
" ever was.

" You must know, my Lord, that the
" hill, on which the cannons were placed,
" was very steep, and the space between
" the hill and the river very narrow on that
" side; the King nevertheless ordered the
" troops to descend here, not only those who
" were to pass, but those who were to build
" the floats; for boats we had none.

" The officers and soldiers having slid down
" the hill on their hinder parts, made some
" floats or pontons at the foot of it. There
" then passed over some men who fastened the
" cords or cables to the other side, which was
" to serve them for passing and repassing; this

“ being done, we began by carrying over fifteen or twenty soldiers on each float : so that
 “ towards the evening six hundred men, namely, two hundred *Wesmanlanders* and four hundred *Finnois* had passed, with Major-General *Stakelberg* at their head, who had under him Lieutenant-Colonel *Sacken von Oesel*, and Major *Starenflycht*.

“ The enemy had hitherto undertaken nothing, they had only made a few motions ; but at night, they approached with six or seven battalions, commanded by Lieutenant-General *Allart*. This General divided his troops, and made one party advance to the right, and the other to the left, to assail the *Swedes* on both sides ; to whom he marched up with a long march, the better to avoid the fire of the cannon, which was discharged with great success.

“ *Stakelberg*, who had taken possession of the bushes, was ordered to advance to the left with the *Finnois*, to attack the enemy's battery. By this means there was some distance of ground between him and the *Wesmanlanders*. The enemy in the mean time being got within shot, and the night growing so dark that they could no longer distinguish each other, the *Swedes* kept themselves as close as possible.

“ The enemy then began first to discover themselves by a volley of their small arms, without however being able to see any of us, and the Grenadiers being posted opposite this vacant space between the two parties under *Stakelberg*, threw their grenades, all which fell into the river without doing any mischief.

“ On

“ On the other hand Major *Starenflycht*, who commanded the *Wesmanlanders*, and who had the first engagement with the *Muscovites*, discerned the enemy plainly by the light of their own fire. He returned their fire therefore with much vigour, and much more success. In the interval other troops continued to pass over, while Major-General *Stakelberg* returned to support them. The firing lasted three hours with hardly any discontinuance; so that the powder failing in the end, each soldier having fired upwards of thirty times, his Majesty ordered the rest of the troops to pass over. In the mean while, the *Swedes* repulsed the enemy sword-in-hand, for they had no more powder, and hindered them from cutting off their return to the river, where the *Muscovites* endeavoured to lay hold on the ropes to which the floats were fastened.

“ The great obstinacy with which the *Swedes* maintained their post, at last repelled the enemy; who, superior as they were in number, retreated in confusion, fearing that they might be pursued; which however they were not, unless by our cannon, which fired very briskly on their retreat.

“ The *Muscovites* had six hundred men killed, and more than a thousand wounded, according to their own confession; and we had but thirty killed, and seventy or thereabouts wounded. Two of the King's Adjutant-Generals were amongst the wounded, namely *Ogilvi* and *Durwald*, who past and repast with his Majesty's orders; the former died two days afterwards.

The LIFE and HISTORY of

" We being now masters of the passage, the
 " King employed the next day in finishing two
 " bridges. General *Roos*, who was a league
 " lower down, had orders to make one to pass
 " with his column; and the whole army passed
 " the river at these two places.

" Whilst we were busy in passing the *Dezna*,
 " the Czar was come post from *Smolensko*, to
 " join his army, imagining that the King of
 " Sweden designed to succour the town of
 " *Baturin*: for which *Mazeppa* feared the
 " more, as it was in a very bad state of defence,
 " tho' he had left a very reasonable number of
 " troops there. The fortifications of this
 " place were in a very tattered state, and were
 " built in the ordinary manner of that country,
 " where the strongest place could at best pass
 " but for what the *French* call a *Bicoque*.
 " *Mazeppa* would have repaired it some years
 " ago, but was always hindered by the crea-
 " tures of the Czar, who desired that *Mazeppa*
 " should not have any strong place in his posses-
 " sion. These therefore dissuaded him from it,
 " alledging for their reason, that he had no oc-
 " casion to lay out his money this way; for his
 " Czarish Majesty was strong enough to defend
 " him from all the insults of his enemies.

" The Czar desirous to be revenged on
 " *Mazeppa*, against whom he had published a
 " dreadful Manifesto, gave orders for the im-
 " mediate attack of his Capital before the
 " Swedes could come to his assistance. To which
 " purpose, *Menzikof*, who was not far from
 " it, suddenly invested it with some thou-
 " sand men, and gave an assault on the third
 " of November; his troops took it sword-in-
 " hand without much loss, and after an inhu-
 " man

“ man massacre, without sparing sex or age,
“ they carried away the women who remained
“ alive, with all the cannon which amounted
“ to forty pieces, without reckoning the mor-
“ tars; and then reduced the town to ashes,
“ together with the mills which were on the
“ *Sem*, after having first plundered every thing
“ in the most barbarous manner. Part of the
“ garison saved themselves over the river *Sem*;
“ and had the good luck to escape; but the
“ Commandant was taken and treated very
“ cruelly. He was a native of *Prussia*, and his
“ name was *Konigseck*.

“ The King of *Sweden* having passed the
“ *Dezna*, continued his march towards the river
“ *Sem*, and advanced the sixth of *November*
“ to *Cziespofka*, (a league and a half). On
“ the seventh, his Majesty continued his march
“ (two leagues) to *Lucknowa*; and from thence
“ repaired on the eighth to *Otiusa*, (two leagues
“ and a half.) In this village the Peasants,
“ who had fled away, as the other inhabitants
“ of the country did, seeing his Majesty's ap-
“ proach came forth and presented him a large
“ loaf with salt, as a token of their confidence.

“ The King halted here till the rest of the
“ army had past the *Dezna*. He afterwards
“ followed his rout, and passed the *Sem* the
“ twelfth, near the town of *Baturin*; where
“ they saw with horror the dreadful destruc-
“ tion that had been committed, the very air
“ being infected with the stench of dead bo-
“ dies, some of which were half burnt. His
“ Majesty advanced two leagues and a half
“ to *Horodijka*, where he stopt some days.

“ Here

" Here *Mazeppa's* people brought an Ad-
 " jutant-General of Prince *Menzikof*, whom
 " they had taken at *Prziluki*. His name was
 " *Schultz*, and he was a native of *Prussia*. He
 " was dispatched from the Czar with letters to
 " King *Augustus*, to desire that Prince to return
 " into *Poland*, seeing he had no more to fear from
 " the King of *Sweden*, who was now reduced
 " to the last extremity. Several letters were
 " found upon him directed to the Chancery,
 " all full of vulgar invectives and *Muscovite*
 " *rodomontades**, to persuade the publick of
 " many things to our disadvantage, at which
 " the King laughed much when he read them.
 " As soon as the Czar was joined by *Men-*
 " *zikof*, he retired on the frontiers of his do-
 " minions to *Glukow* on the river *Lefzina*,
 " between the rivers of *Dezna* and *Sem*, where
 " he waited for several new regiments from
 " *Muscovy*, which amounted on their arrival to
 " twenty thousand men. He had with him
 " some thousand *Cossacks*, who preserved their
 " fidelity; and as he was very desirous of gain-
 " ing over the rest, he thought proper to be-
 " gin by deposing *Mazeppa*, which was perfor-
 " med with great ceremony in the town of
 " *Baturin*, as soon as it was taken. They
 " prepared

* They had chiefly the of thirty thousand, and drove
 battle of *Liesna* in view, them off the field, ought not
 and made, a pompous de- to be esteemed the conquer-
 scription of their pretended rors: for as to the baggage,
 victory, which they said all the world can find hands
 they had gained. We leave to pillage it, when there is
 to the judgment of all those no danger near; and this
 who were present at that was the utmost which the
 terrible fight, on which side *Muscovites* gained: a loss
 the glory of that day was, however, from which in
 and whether six thousand reality we suffered no great
 men who sustained the shock inconvenience in the end.

“ prepared for this purpose a scaffold, on which
 “ his effigies drest in the blue string of the
 “ Order of St. *Andrew*, was first stript of
 “ that Order, then thrown down, and after-
 “ wards hanged by the common hangman.

“ As the Czar had confined the election of
 “ another Great General at *Glukow* to the num-
 “ ber of seven; they elected into this dignity
 “ a Colonel of *Starodub*, named *Ivan Iliewitz*
 “ *Skoropatzki*, whom his Czarish Majesty had
 “ proposed to the Cossacks of his party. The
 “ Colonels are the Commanders of Territories
 “ or Provinces, and there are some who com-
 “ mand upwards of ten thousand men.

“ The season being too far advanced to put
 “ off any longer the consideration of winter-
 “ quarters for the army, where they might
 “ repose themselves after the most toilsome
 “ march that any army had ever undertaken;
 “ it was endeavoured to canton them in such a
 “ manner that they might refresh themselves
 “ well, and be free from any insult: a precau-
 “ tion very necessary, since his Majesty would
 “ not remove too far from the frontiers of
 “ *Muscovy*.

“ On this side the river *Sem* begins the vast
 “ country of the *Ukrain*, which extends to the
 “ *Crim Tartary* on the one side, opening every
 “ where the largest and most delightful plains,
 “ which in some parts abound so plentifully
 “ with towns and villages, that for many
 “ leagues together we are never out of sight
 “ of them”.

“ As

1 *Mazepa* quitted this * The King remained at
 Order, when he went to *Horodiska* from the twelfth
 meet the King of Sweden. to the sixteenth, to attend
 the

The LIFE and HISTORY of

" As the King had caused an exact account
 " to be taken of the situation of this whole
 " country,

the arrival of the rest of the army, the regiments defiled over the *Sem* and entered into the *Ukrain*. This country which is situated between *Poland*, *Tartary* and *Russia*, takes its name from its situation, the word *Ukrain* signifying Frontier.

The *Ukrain* properly called, without reckoning the Provinces of *Pocutia* and *Podolia*, comprehends according to common computation above seventy German leagues in length, and more than thirty in breadth. It consists properly of two Palatinates, namely that of *Bracław* and that of *Kiow*. The *Borjstheim* or the *Dnieper* runs quite through it, and divides it into two equal parts.

The inhabitants are generally called Cossacks: They pretend to have been always a free people, subject to neither *Poland* nor *Russia*, having always stoutly maintained their privileges and prerogatives: This was the principal reason why *Maciejko* embraced the King of *Sweden's* party against the *Czar*, who contrary to the Conventions between the Cossacks and *Russia*, when they formerly put themselves under his protection, loaded them with imposts, and overcharged them with quarters for a number of

troops, which filled the whole *Ukrain* from the beginning of his reign, and especially during the war.

As the Cossacks found themselves in no condition to support their freedom against their powerful neighbours, they put themselves at first under the protection of *Poland*, to which they paid a certain annual tribute; but a quarrel arising between them and their Protectress, on the subject of certain fortresses, they committed themselves in 1645, to the protection of the *Czar*, to whom as a mark of their submission they paid annually certain contributions, obliging themselves likewise to serve on horseback in time of war, when they were ordered. They afterwards performed good services, especially against the *Turks* and *Tartars*. In the Palmitate of *Bracław*, the *Poles* yet have most of their towns, and the Cossacks are masters only of the country, which is deserted in many places; but in that of *Kiowia*, the *Russians* are their masters, and possess since 1687 the town of *Kiowia*, which they have fortified strongly enough, and where there is a University and Metropolitan Church, with a *Greek* Bishop. They have moreo-

“country, particularly all along the frontiers,
“his Majesty thought proper to gain yet more
“marches ;

ver garisons at *Pultowa*,
Kudac, and in other places;
the Cossacks possess all the
rest.

There are different sorts
or nations of Cossacks, some
inhabit the towns and the
villages, and maintain them-
selves by agriculture. O-
thers live only in tents on
the borders of the *Boristha-
nes*, where they seek their
food by hunting and fish-
ing; and some keep them-
selves in the numerous isles
of this great river, where
they live on robbery, and
cruise as far as the *Black
Sea*. Amongst these there
is a kind which they call the
Zaporovian Cossacks; these
are the most savage sort,
they elect among themselves
their General, or *Hettman*,
without any other ceremony
than calling him by his
name, and throwing their
bonnets up into the air.

As to the *Don* Cossacks
or those of *Tanais*, they re-
semble the *Zaporovians* in
their Manners. The gross
of the Cossacks, who inha-
bit the towns of the *Ukrain*,
are more polite; and there
are very honest and brave
men among them. They
are all of the *Greek* Commu-
nion, and elect their Great
General, or *Hettman*, with
great pomp in their churches
immediately after the
death of the deceased. This

Hettman hath under him
a great number of Colonels,
who command from one
thousand to ten thousand
men; and when the Great
General or *Hettman* takes
the field, he can easily
assemble an army of ten
thousand men, comprising
all the Cossacks in general.
Wherever he goes the tail
of a horse is carried before
him, which is set up before
his quarters or tent, and is
the ensign of his dignity.
As soon as this is taken up;
all the troops mount their
horses and follow it, it be-
ing a signal that the Chief
of their military republick
is present.

The *Zaporovian* Cossacks
serve for money him who
will give them the most.
His Majesty had a good
number in his service; they
came to offer themselves
with their *Hettman*, and
were well paid, as we shall
see a little lower.

The *Ukrain* is a very de-
licious and fertile country,
and abounds so with corn,
that the inhabitants cannot
put up or keep it all, and
are obliged to distil a good
part into strong waters; of
which they are great lovers,
and have always a large pro-
vision. Their pastures are
so rich and so fruitful, that
they make a great quantity
of hay, which they gather
together.

“ marches; and casting his eyes on the town of
 “ *Romnei* or *Rumni*, and the neighbouring
 “ parts,

together into great ricks in the open country, and serves to nourish a great number of *Haras*, or *Horses*, which are found in this country.

This abundance of all things arises first from the admirable goodness of the soil, and secondly from its being very thinly peopled; for the inhabitants are always accustomed to a wandering and vagabond life, whence they obtained the name of *Cossacks*, signifying a man who is continually a travelling. They have in reality begun very lately to build houses, to establish families, and to form towns, lordships and villages; great spaces of their land are as yet desolate and uncultivated, where it is nevertheless possible to make the finest settlements in the world.

Their pastures breed horses extremely vigorous and lasting, who, till they are six or seven years old run wild over the country, as well in winter as summer. At that age they catch them, and begin to dress and break them to the bridle and saddle, to which they submit at first with great impatience. Their wethers, ewes and oxen are very large and fat, and by reason of their plenty very cheap. We bought at our entrance into the *Ukrain* an ox of some hundred weight

for five crowns, and a weather for four-pence or five-pence: the rump is their fattest part, which is about the breadth of one's hand. They make no wine of their own growth, but import it either from *Tartary* or *Hungary*; and the latter is very scarce. Their ordinary drink is beer, honey and strong waters, all three very good.

Their houses are made of wood, and very low: so are their walls. Their towns are all provided with pallisadoes and moats.

It was into this delicious country that the army entered full of confidence and joy, flattering themselves to be at last able to recover of all their fatigues, and to spend the winter in good quarters; which would have been effectually the case, had we not been obliged to approach one another, and to keep our selves close together to prevent any insults from the enemy, who now surrounded us on all sides; nor could our utmost care preserve some regiments, whose quarters were at too great a distance, from suffering a little; being not able to bring them timely succours. Not to mention that the enemy by their continual excursions kept off our provisions as much as possible.

“ parts, he sent Mr. *Gyllenkrok* to secure that
 “ place, which is situated on the river *Sula*,
 “ near the frontiers of *Russia*, having a rampart
 “ and a ditch, and to make a disposition for the
 “ winter quarters.

“ *Gyllenkrok* advanced to *Horodiska*, accom-
 “ panied by some troops and a Colonel of *Ma-*
 “ *zeppa*’s with a party of Cossacks.

“ The Czar had already published his pro-
 “ clamations in several towns which bordered on
 “ the frontiers. These proclamations were full
 “ of calumnies, which the *Muscovite* court spread
 “ amongst the Cossacks, to make them believe
 “ that the King of *Sweden*, whom they painted
 “ as a tyrant and an unjust invader, was come
 “ to exercise all manner of cruelties. It was
 “ afterwards set forth, that as the Czar had
 “ given them a new Great General in the room
 “ of *Mazeppa*, against whom there were the
 “ most bitter invectives; he exhorted them to
 “ recognize him as their Chief, and to keep
 “ themselves stedfast against the common enemy
 “ of their country. This Manifesto was with-
 “ out date, or name, or place where it was
 “ made, but most horribly violent.

“ *Gyllenkrok* at his arrival at *Romnei*, found
 “ these proclamations published; this caused
 “ him to put one of the Burgomasters under
 “ arrest; he was accused of having been with
 “ the *Russians*, to demand succours of them.
 “ The King decamped the sixteenth from *Ho-*
 “ *rodiska*, and followed *Gyllenkrok* with his
 “ column, proceeding three leagues to *Hollinka*,
 “ on

“ possible. These evils hindred
 “ us from enjoying to our utmost
 “ wish, the fruitfulness of this
 “ fine country, where victuals
 towards the last grew ex-
 tremely scarce and prodigiously dear.

" on the river *Zifz*. Before he decamped thence,
 " he sent Adjutant-General *Linroth* to the
 " Generals *Creutz* and *Cruus*, who led the last
 " columns of the army, and had not yet pas-
 " sed the *Sem*, with orders to pass it with the
 " utmost expedition. *Linroth* happily joined
 " *Cruus*; but as he was going with the same
 " orders to General *Creutz*, who was but half
 " a league distant from the other, a party of
 " the Cossacks that were our enemies, who had
 " slipped between the two columns, surprized him
 " on the road; and as he had but three or four
 " persons with him, he was necessarily obliged
 " to yield to a multitude, who after they had
 " treated him very barbarously, left him dead
 " on the spot; one of the company was found
 " ready to expire the next day, being scarce
 " able to give an account of the unhappy fate
 " of his companions. This *Linroth* is the last
 " of six Adjutant-Generals, which the King
 " made at his going into *Saxony*, five of them
 " were killed, and Mr. *Canifer* the sixth, was
 " made a prisoner in *Muscovy*.

" The King continued his march on the se-
 " venteenth from *Hollinka* to *Demitroffka* (two
 " leagues) and thence the eighteenth to *Romnei*
 " (five leagues) where we are at present, being
 " four leagues from the frontiers of *Mus-*
 " *covy*.^a

" *Mazeppa* had already represented to the
 " King the necessity of securing the town of
 " *Hadiacz*;

^a The reason why the King
 took up his quarters at *Rom-*
nei was that *Mazeppa* feared
 at first to see too many at
Hadiacz, whither it had been
 resolved to march; but he
 put his Majesty at the same

time on using precautions to
 be before-hand with the *Rus-*
sians, desiring him to cause
 some regiments to march
 thither, which his Majesty
 agreed to.

" *Hadiacz*, his residence, being six leagues from *Romnei*, and the rather as he was informed that the new *Hettmann* was on his march at the head of *Muscovite* troops, to render himself master of it. 1708.

" His Majesty being arrived at *Romnei*, detached the same night Colonel *Dabldorff* with the regiment of *Smoland* horse, the dragoons of *Schreiterfelt*, and the regiment of foot of *Westerbothn*, commanded by *Lagercrona*, and ordered him to follow *Mazeppa*, who arrived the next day some hours before the enemy, and took possession of the town, which as well as the others hath a rampart and a ditch. *Mazeppa* having given the necessary orders, and left some thousand Cossacks near *Dabldorff*, returned the same way, to be nearer the King at *Romnei*.

" The army in the mean time advanced, and was distributed into quarters through the several towns and villages in a circle of ten or twelve leagues^b; two or three regiments were quartered together, according to the extent of each village, which are very large in that country.

" The enemy seeing with uneasiness the *Swedes* so near their winter quarters and their frontiers, sent out large detachments to oppose them. This proceeding gave our Colonels and Generals an opportunity of signaling themselves. On the twenty first of November,

VOL. III.

G

" Colonel

^b The army was distributed from *Prziluki*, *Romnei*, and *Hadiacz* quite to *Lochvica*.

^c The Czar had posted his troops along the frontiers; and was himself gone from

Gluckow, where he had been some time, to *Libidin* near *Hadiacz*. *Wolkonski* was posted at *Mirograd*, and he had a strong garrison at *Nyazin* on the side of *Desna*.

1708. " Colonel *Duker* beat General *Ronn*, and drove
 " him off from a *Swedish* quarter which he de-
 " sired to attack.

" Again Colonel *Taub*, in the night between
 " the twenty seventh and twenty eighth, de-
 " feated a party of *Cossacks* and *Muscovites*,
 " and took near nine hundred horses from them.
 " Those who were not burnt or killed, escaped
 " in their shirts. Another time *Duker*, on the
 " first of *December*, surprized in the night a
 " party of the enemy in the *Muscovite* country,
 " and put all to fire and sword. Lastly, Ge-
 " neral *Craus* beat a detachment of five thou-
 " sand *Cossacks* and *Muscovites*, some leagues
 " from hence, and took from them more than
 " a thousand horses.

" We thank God, the enemy have been
 " hitherto beat whenever we have met with
 " them.

I am, with profound respect,

My Lord,

Romnei, Dec. 5,

1708.

Your Serene Highness's, &c.

GUSTAVUS ADLERFELT.

To illustrate the latter circumstances of this
 Letter, let us return to our Journal.

On the twentieth, the Colonels *Duker* and *Taub*,
 who had been detached to render themselves
 masters of *Smielajab*, which was appointed for
 their

1758.

their quarters, arrived there, and posted themselves in the suburbs, the magistrates refusing to let them enter the town without an express order from *Mazeppa*, at the same time that they admitted General *Ronn* with three or four thousand *Muscovite* dragoons on the other side. The King being advertised thereof, hastened thither with the utmost speed, giving orders at his setting out to the columns of *Sparr* and *Roos* to march, which they instantly did. In the mean time General *Ronn* endeavoured to barricade himself as well as he was able.

On the twenty first the Columns of *Sparr* and *Roos*, arrived at *Smielajab* with two battalions of guards, who were ordered to follow them; they appeared before the place just after a battle, wherein General *Ronn* having made a sally, was beat back into the town with the loss of four hundred men. This fight lasted not long, but was very brisk; two *Swedish* squadrons suffered a little at the beginning of the action. On the same day some *Cossacks* of the enemy's party took several waggon-loads of baggage, and massacred some of our sick who had lost their road, while they followed the Columns of *Roos* and *Sparr*.

On the twenty second *Mazeppa* returned from *Hadiacz* to the head quarters. The *Cossack* Colonel *Apostol* departed that day from *Mirogorod* with Colonel *Labieniki*, and some *Cossacks*, under certain pretences, and fled towards the *Russians*. He was displeased at *Mazeppa's* obliging him to bring his wife and family to *Romnei* to follow the army, as all the other *Cossack* ladies did.

We had advice this day that the Czar who was posted at *Libidin*, had caused a great body

1708. of troops to advance within a league of *Hadiacz*, into the little town of *Wieprek*, situated on the river of the same name, by whom that place was put into a posture of defence. He had besides at *Libidin* near twenty thousand men for the attack of *Hadiacz*, which, as he knew the garrison to be very weak in comparison of the troops that were to attack it, he hoped to carry at the first onset.

On the twenty third, Major-General *Meyerfeld* and Colonel *Albedybl* arrived with their regiments, and posted themselves within the suburbs of *Romnei*. The same night General *Ronn* retreated from *Smielajab* on the preparations which our troops were making for the assault. General *Duker* pursued him, killed and took several of his party prisoners.

The twenty fourth, his Majesty sent *Gyllenkla* to *Smielajab*, with orders to burn it.

The twenty sixth, *Meyerfeld* and *Albedybl* marched towards their quarters. The *Dabl-Carlens* rendered themselves at their post, and took possession of the suburbs.

In the night between the twenty seventh and twenty eighth, Colonel *Taub* who was returned to *Romnei* with *Duker*, sallied out and surprized a large body of *Muscovites* and *Cossacks*, most of whom were put to the sword, some were burnt, and others saved themselves in their shirts. *Taub* took above nine hundred horses.

The first of *December*, Colonel *Duker* made an excursion with six hundred horse, past the frontiers, surprized a *Muscovite* party, and penetrating further into the enemy's country, put all to fire and sword, and returned with the loss of three men only.

The fifth, General *Cruus* and Colonel *Taub* 1708.
defeated a party of five thousand Cossacks and
Russians, whom they had fallen in with in the
night at *Krovireca*, some leagues from *Romnei*,
put most of them to the sword, pushed the rest
into the river *Sula*, and took above one thou-
sand horses.

The tenth, Lieutenant-Colonel *Funk* was de-
tached with five hundred horse to chastise the
Peasants, who were got together in divers places,
and bring them to reason. He killed above a
thousand Cossacks in the little town of *Terey*,
which he burnt, as he did *Dribalow*; he re-
duced likewise many villages to ashes which be-
longed to those Cossacks who sided with the
enemy, and put all whom he found to the
sword, in order to strike a terror into the rest.

It was hoped that the King's Manifesto dated
in the end of *November* O. S. written in the
Latin language, and dispersed among all the
Cossacks, would convince them of the upright-
ness of his Majesty's intentions, who came but
to deliver them from the yoke under which
they groaned; but notwithstanding the strongest
assurances which were given them of protecting
and re-establishing them in their rights, and to
do them no manner of mischief provided they
would remain quietly at home; all this seemed
to make no great impression on the body of
the nation, whom the Czar by his Proclamations,
and the new Great General, had found the
means of gaining; so that we were at conti-
nual blows with the inhabitants, which extremely
troubled old *Mazeppa*, especialy when he was
informed of the yielding up of *Bialacerkiow*,
where his loss was very considerable.

1708.

The King having perceived by the preparations of the Czar at *Libidin*, what he intended at *Hadiacz*, decamped the seventeenth from *Rommei*, with the regiment of Foot Guards, the *Uplanders* and *Dahl-Carlens*, Foot, and the regiment of Dragoons of *Duker*, to seek the enemy, and offer him battle.

His Majesty advanced two leagues that day to *Lipowa Dalina*, where we surprized a party of a hundred *Muscovite* dragoons, who were posted to watch the road between *Rommei* and *Hadiacz*; thirty were cut to pieces by the *Valoches*, and the rest, namely, a Major, a Lieutenant, and seventy dragoons were taken prisoners. The Prince of *Wurtemberg* narrowly escaped being killed by a dragoon of the enemy's, who got behind him and aimed to cut his head off; the Prince at the very instant when he was going to make the blow, looked behind him and avoided it.

The eighteenth, his Majesty continued his march and arrived at *Hadiacz* (three leagues :) the garrison consisted of the regiment of *Smo-land*, and that of the Gentry of *Livonia*, both horse; the dragoons of *Schreiterfeld*, and the foot of *Westerbothn*. Within an hour of the King's arrival, the enemy were on the point of giving the assault, and every thing was ready for that purpose, when they received the news by some dragoons who had escaped from the surprize of *Lipowa Dalina*, of the approach of some troops which were coming to the succour of that place: this obliged them to set fire to the suburbs of *Hadiacz* and a magazine of forage which was there, and to retreat thence with precipitation.

The Czar, who was but at half a league's distance from this place, and who was march-
ing

ing with considerable forces to support the assault, turned about likewise on this news, and hastily regained the rout of *Libidin*. 1708.

This first night was extremely cold, and the frost continued thenceforth with most extraordinary rigour during the whole winter; and as there is but one gate to the town, at which so many waggons, &c. could enter but slowly, the one after the other, the place moreover being scarce able to hold so many men and horses, a great number were obliged to remain in the open air without the city gate, and this for several days and nights following, while they were placing what had already entered.

Many died of the excessive rigour of the cold, and a great number lost the use of their limbs, as their feet and hands; so that the town was filled with sick persons, and all the houses resembled hospitals, which afforded a horrible spectacle. The King himself was not free from the terrible effects of this rigorous season, being affected with a swelling in his nose, which he presently cured by rubbing it with snow, the only method to prevent any numbness.

But if our troops suffered so much from the excessive rigour of the winter, those of the Czar, which were continually in motion, suffered no less. We heard from all parts, that sickness raged in all their garrisons and quarters; and as they were obliged to be always on their guard, on account of his Majesty's continual marches, which left them not one moment in safety; this perpetual agitation, together with the severe cold, carried off abundance of their people: they had however the advantage of replacing their dead, by recruits which arrived incessantly from *Russia*, and the Czarewitz him-

1708. self was advancing with seventeen thousand fresh recruits to reinforce their army.

The same day five regiments entered *Romnei*, where the *Drabans*, the Court and the Chancery were; namely, *Sparr's*, *Buckwald's*, and *Cronman's* foot, *Cruus's* horse, and *Taub's* dragoons, to replace the troops which his Majesty had taken with him.

Major-General *Meyerfeld* had had a very smart action in his march from *Lochvica*, to join the King, with *Wolkonski* who commanded the garrison of *Mirogorod*, who sallied out with several of his troops, which were beaten and repulsed with loss. *Meyerfeld* in this march had the misfortune to break his leg by the fall of his horse, but it was afterwards very well cured.

As the King was not pleased at the neighbourhood of the enemy, and as he burnt with impatience to attack them, he resolved to seek and pursue them till they would stand their ground. Having therefore left all his baggage and sick at *Hadiacz*, with some regiments to guard them, and having sent for the Court and *Drabans* from *Romnei*, he decamped the twenty-sixth with part of the army, and marched directly to *Wieprek*, where *Ronn* was posted with a considerable body of troops, who, as soon as he had advice of the King's approach, left three battalions in the town, and marched immediately on the side of *Kamien*; our Vanguard and Valoches being close at the heels of his Rear-guard, fell on the *Russian* Cossacks and Calmucks, who covered his precipitate retreat.

Ronn continued his march with much diligence, and passing near *Kamien*, which is situated on the same river with *Hadiacz*, three leagues

leagues from *Wieprek*, he threw a Colonel with a party of dragoons into that place, and pursued his rout towards *Libidin*. During this march our troops suffered extremely by the cold, of which several men and horses perished, and many lost their hands and feet. 1708.

The twenty-seventh the King passed by *Wieprek* in pursuit of *Ronn*, leaving the regiment of horse of *South-Scania*, under *Ornstedt*, and the foot regiment of *Ostrogoths*, under *James Sperling*, behind him to watch this poultry town; to these were afterwards joined the dragoons of *Meyerfeld* and *Albedybl*. On the other hand, Count *Jasper Sperling*, with his regiment of *Westrogoths*, advanced towards *Kamien*, and posted himself at half a league's distance, where he dislodged an advanced guard of the enemy.

The King proceeded some leagues to a village named *Pleszinicz*, when the cold was so piercing, that it became absolutely impossible to continue the march. This obliged his Majesty to keep his Christmas there with the regiments which he had with him, and which suffered much from the cold in these quarters.

Count *James Sperling*, by the King's order, summoned the Commandant of *Wieprek* to surrender the place; but he refusing, *Sperling* acquainted his Majesty, who changing his quarters, turned towards *Czinkow*, where he placed *Rank* in his front with his regiment of foot.

Czinkow is a little town fortified in that country manner, with palisadoes, and a little bulwark lined with a moat. A great number of Peasants had thrown themselves into it, pretending to remain neuters, and admit neither *Swedes* nor *Russians*. While *Rank* was marching, Colonel *Taub*, who had been detached with
five

1708. five hundred horse from the side of *Kamien*, arrived and burnt the suburbs.

The King followed *Rank*, and passed again by *Wieprek*; he now left there the regiment of foot of *Upland*, with four pieces of cannon; and after having passed by the side of a great wood, he arrived in the evening at *Czinkow*. He found the gates shut, and the inhabitants with a great number of Peasants on the ramparts; they were all drunk with strong waters, made a great noise, and appeared much elated. Adjutant-General *Gyllenkla* set fire to some houses in the suburbs.

The thirty-first, *Gyllenkla* received orders to summon the town, declaring to those who were in the town that he would give them but an hour to surrender themselves; they demanded a longer time which was refused them. The King at the same time having drawn up a battalion of *Calmar*, advanced to the gates, and sat down on the *Chevaux de frise*, till the capitulation was signed. It was soon concluded, and before the hour was expired, the populace being intimidated, surrendered at discretion and opened the gates, which the battalion of *Calmar* instantly took possession of.

The King posted himself in the suburbs with the regiment of *Dahl-Carlens* under *Siegroth*, that of *Wesmanland* under *Roos*, and that of *Calmar* under *Rank*, all foot, with the Artillery and the *Ostrogoth* horse under *Hamilton*; together with the dragoons of *Duker* and *Schreiterfeldt*. The rest of the army remained till farther orders in *Hadiacz*, and the places thereabouts. Count *Piper* with a part of the Court and *Drabans*, took up his quarters near *Crasnaluka*. The chief of the Court baggage remained

remained at *Hadiacz*. *Sparr*, *Cruus*, and 1709. *Creutz* possessed themselves of the rest of the neighbourhood,

The King spent New-year's day, 1709, at *Czinkow*, during so rigorous a cold that nothing equal to it had been known in the memory of man. His Majesty having formed a design to attack *Wieprek*, sent Major-General *Stakelberg* thither, to take upon him the direction. *Siegroth* was ordered to follow, to reconnoitre the place, and make an exact report thereof to his Majesty. At his return, which was two days afterwards, the King decamped from *Czinkow*, escorted by the Artillery and *Schreiterfeldt's* dragoons.

His Majesty arrived the sixth at *Wieprek*, where they had already raised four batteries of five pieces of cannon each; and when the Commandant was again summoned to surrender, he answered from the mouths of his cannon, to which those on our batteries replied. The same evening the King made the necessary dispositions for an assault early the next day, ordering three attacks, of which one was to be conducted by *James Sperling*, and the other two by *Fritski* and *Albedybl*.

The seventh in the morning the attack was begun by the discharge of the cannon, while the troops were drawn up to mount the assault, which they did with all possible force and vigour; but as the enemy had thrown a quantity of water on the ramparts which was frozen on all sides, and the garrison taking advantage of the difficulty which our men met with in scaling the ramparts, which were so slippery they could hardly stand, defended themselves in the most desperate manner, his Majesty with-

out

1769, out delay gave orders to his troops to retreat.

We lost many brave men at this attack. The two young Counts of *Sperling*, equally illustrious by their birth, their rank and their merit; Colonel *Fritski*; the Lieutenant-Colonels *Morner*, and *Lilliegreen*; Count *E. Gyllenstolpe*, a man much esteemed; and many other officers of merit, were killed. Count *Rbeinschild* received a blow from a grenade, which made a contusion. General *Stakelberg* was wounded, and the sleeve of the Prince of *Wurtemberg's* coat was shot through with a ball. The King having sounded the Commandant again by *Siegroth* and *Wrangle*, he demanded some hours for consideration, and surrendered the same night at discretion. The officers were made prisoners of war; but kept their baggage, as the Colonel did his sword. We found here some pieces of cannon that had been burst.

The garison marched out the next day, it consisted of eleven hundred men, besides the Peasants, which had born arms. They were escorted to *Czinkow*, by *Silfwerbielm*, where they had full liberty to enter into the town; but the greater part died of the cold.

During these transactions, two officers of the King's army, whose names were *Lood* and *Ox*, arrived in our camp. They had been taken prisoners by the Czar, and were by him sent to his Majesty, to solicit the exchange of *Schultz*, Adjutant to *Menzikof*, of whom we have spoken before with one named *Caudaroff* in their room. The King refused this exchange, and in the former's place sent back a Lieutenant-Colonel who was taken at *Wieprek*, and instead

instead of *Cauduroff* a Captain taken at the 1709,
same place.

The eleventh, the little *Bicoque* of *Wieprek* was burnt, and his Majesty set out for *Czinkow*, being escorted by the regiment of Artillery, the horse of *Cruus*, and *Taub's* dragoons. At the same time General *Sparr* received orders to go with six regiments of foot to *Lutenka*, which is some leagues distant from *Czinkow*, on the river *Lutuka*, to be there in readiness, and to give rest to the troops.

Our quarters were so well disposed, that the enemy could not easily surprize us. *Creutz* was posted at *Lochowitz*, or *Lochwica*, which is on the side of the *Ukrain*; and all the rest were drawn close together towards the frontiers, where we stood well on our guard. *Hadiacz* was in the centre, and the baggage remained always quiet with a body of troops which the King had at first left there, and to which several other regiments had since joined themselves by his Majesty's orders. As to the enemy, they had troops in *Ogtirki*, *Kutitwa*, *Opuczna*, *Pultawa*, *Horogni*, *Sorotzin*, &c. without reckoning the main body which was at *Libidin*, and on the frontiers in their own country.

The thirteenth Count *Piper* came to his Majesty to *Hadiacz*.

The fourteenth, the Lieutenant-Colonels *Ulfspar*, *Apelgreen* and *Stiernbielm*, were made Colonels; the first had the *Ostrogoths* of *James Sperling*, who was killed; the second the *Westrogoths*, of *Jasper Sperling*; and the third, another regiment.

The nineteenth, Colonel *Duker* was detached at six in the evening, with two thousand horse towards *Horogni*, where lay five regiments of
the

1709. the enemy, under the command of Brigadier Carrupel. He arrived the next day, and having instantly attacked them, utterly routed them; killed three hundred men, took two pair of kettle-drums; and some colours; and carried off more than a thousand horses, with some part of their baggage, which he brought happily to the Head-quarters, with the loss only of about twenty men.

The twenty-second, Lieutenant-Colonel Wrangle, who commanded in chief the dragoons of *Scania*, otherwise called the Priest's dragoons, was killed with a shot from a fauconet, as he was going to reconnoitre the town of *Sorotzin*, which was near his quarters, and where the enemy had a garrison. Prince *Wurtemberg* asked this regiment of the King, who gave it him soon after.

In the night between the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth, the King taking with him *Hamilson's* regiment of horse, and *Duker's* and *Taub's* dragoons, making together about two thousand, and followed by the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, Count *Rheinschild*, and other officers of note, marched through the great wood to *Opuczno* on the *Worskla*; where were six regiments of *Muscovite* dragoons, under the command of General *Schaumburg*, with six hundred horse-grenadiers, and near two thousand Cossacks. They presently made an orderly retreat at our approach along the town of *Opuczno*, or *Obutzin*; but our regiments having attacked them with vigour, overthrew them almost at the first shock, and pursued them a whole league close at their heels.

The enemy had four hundred men killed on the spot, and fifty taken prisoners; and we took two pair of kettle-drums, and five standards. *Menzikof* with General *Rom* arrived just before the fight, with an intention to advance with these regiments towards our quarters, and to surprize the dragoons of *Scania* and *Horn's* horse, both in quarters at *Kovaluska*; but they had only time to run away with the rest. The *Valoches* made a considerable booty in the town of *Opuczno*, where they plundered all the baggage of these regiments.

Immediately after this fight, wherein we had only two killed and seventeen wounded, his Majesty sent his Adjutant-General *Durwaldt* to *Czinkow*, with orders for all to march, the baggage as well as the regiments; *Rank* and *Roos* were to come with their foot to *Opuczno*, and the Artillery with the rest to *Casmin*.

On the twenty-ninth the King advanced to *Kutikva*, hoping to meet another column and six *Muscovite* regiments, which were there posted; and he flattered himself that those who fled from *Opuczno*, might possibly have taken the same road. They did indeed repair thither, but had at the same time spread so general a terror, that they had altogether ran away through *Krasnakui* to *Oytirki*; so that at his Majesty's arrival they were all decamped.

The King in the mean while had left a Captain, with fifty horse and some wounded soldiers at *Opuczno*, to guard the wounded and trophies taken in the last fight. The *Russians* being advertized of this, made a detachment of dragoons desile that way, who surprized the Captain, and having killed him and all his people, carried off the trophies and prisoners;

1709. soners; so that when Major-General Rank arrived, he found nothing but dead bodies.

The Court, the *Drabans* and the regiments decamped the thirtieth from *Czinkow*, where we left only one party of *Cossacks* behind, to observe what passed in the neighbourhood. The next day, the Court and *Drabans* came and joined the King at *Kutikva* or *Kutelau*, where his Majesty stopped some days. In the mean time the enemy retired to *Kalcutai*, and thence to *Ogtirki*.

The fifth of *February*, *Klint* arrived at the army.

The sixth, a large party of *Calmucks* attacked the guard near *Casmin*, and killed some men; after which, as soon as the picquet advanced, they ran away full speed.

The eighth, his Majesty gave the troops orders to hold themselves in readiness for a march the next day. The cold still continuing to be very piercing^d.

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^d In one of these marches two thousand men fell down dead with the cold, before his eyes. The troopers had no boots; the foot were without shoes, and almost without clothes. They were reduced to warm themselves with the skins of beasts as well as they could, they often wanted even bread; they were obliged to sink almost all their cannon in morasses and rivers, for want of horses to draw them. This army, once so flourishing, was diminished to twenty-four thousand men, and these ready to die with hunger. In this condition one officer only complained, to whom said the King, *I suppose you are uneasy at being so far from your wife; but, if you are a true soldier, I will carry you so far, that you shall scarce be able to hear from Sweden once in three years.* A soldier had the boldness with some murmurs to present a morsel of black and musty bread to the King, in the presence of the whole army, the only nourishment which they then had, and
of

The King who was impatient to strike a blow of more importance, and to oblige the enemy at last to stand their ground by giving them no repose, decamped on the ninth from *Kutikva*, and took the road of *Ogtirki*. As he passed through the village of *Kukri* (two leagues), he met Colonel *Tschamerdin* with a detachment of the enemy's dragoons, who retreated with the utmost expedition; but were pursued by the Valoches and five squadrons quite under the walls of *Ogtirki*. We killed a good number, and took some prisoners.

The enemy, fearing they should be besieged in *Ogtirki*, presently set fire to the suburbs, and marched their horse to *Krasnakut* (three leagues), where eight regiments of dragoons were posted, some in the town, and some without the gates; and ten other regiments at half a league's distance, in the little town of *Horodniza*.

The King halted at *Kukri*. The artillery which from *Czinkow* had marched with the other troops to *Casmin*, took the road of *Kukri*, where they arrived the next day, having first burnt *Casmin*, *Kusmin* or *Kamien*, for it is the same place under different names.

At *Kukri*, the Prince of *Wurtemberg* received his commission of Colonel, from the King's own hand. His Majesty likewise ordered a sum of money to be paid him towards his equipage; and he bought that of *Wrangle*, his predecessor.

of which they had not a sufficient supply. The King received the bread without emotion, eat it quite up; and then answered the soldier coldly, *It is not good, but it may be eaten.*

1709.

The tenth, Lieutenant-Colonel *Funk* was detached with some hundred horse to *reconnoitre Ogtirki*. He reported that their garison consisted of three regiments of foot, and that all their horse had marched towards *Krasnakut*.

On the eleventh, his Majesty detached Major-General *Hamilton* with four regiments towards *Olesna*, to burn the town. He carried it on his arrival sword in hand, and put most of the garison to the sword, taking the rest prisoners, with the Waivode of the place, and then set fire to it.

The King advanced on the road to *Krasnakut* the same morning early, followed by his *Drabans*, the regiments of horse of *Cruus* and *Smoland*, several regiments of dragoons, and the foot-guards, *Dahl-Carlens*, and the regiment of *Skaraborg*, with the artillery. At the half way, the enemy had an advanced guard of thirty horse, six of whom the *Valoches* killed, and took the rest.

The King pursued his march towards *Krasnakut*, whence the enemy at his approach retired on the other side of the town, and drew up in order of battle near a mill and a cloyster. The *Valoches* having begun the skirmish, the King advanced with the cavalry to support them, and passing through the town he found some squadrons of the enemy who ran away full speed, after having given one volley.

As soon as the King had passed the town, and found himself in sight of the enemy, he drew up his troops on two lines, with which he advanced towards them, who were retired a good distance from the town. The enemy then, not daring to face him, began to set themselves

themselves on a gallop towards *Horodniza*, 1709. which is half a league from *Krasnakut*. As they soon ran into confusion, the hindmost were defeated, and several of them killed; not only on the road to *Horodniza*, but within the gates, suburbs and streets of the city, where these wretches who by reason of the croud could not save themselves fast enough, were cut to pieces; so that the streets were all covered with dead bodies.

The *Russians* lost on this occasion upwards of a thousand men; with some trophies; on our side, no more than twelve of the guards, and an hundred and twenty horse and dragoons were either killed or wounded. General *Ronn*, who had been posted near this town with ten other regiments, retired the same night six leagues farther to *Bialoród*, which is situated within *Russia* itself, *Krasnakut* being in the *Russian* *Ukrain*.

His Majesty on the twelfth advanced half a league to *Moraska*, giving orders to burn *Krasnakut* and *Horodniza*, and to carry away all the inhabitants with the women and children.

The thirteenth, the army proceeded two leagues to *Colomak*, having first burnt *Moraska*: terrible showers of rain mixt with thunder and lightning fell on that day. *Colomak* being situated on the frontiers of *Tartary*, old *Mazeppa*, who was on this expedition with the *Cossacks*, would pay his court to the King, being near him, on horseback, to congratulate him on the progress of his arms; saying to him in *Latin*, that we had but eight leagues to *Asia*. His Majesty, who was perfectly acquainted with the map, answered smiling, *Sed non conveniunt*

1709. *Geographi; but Geographers do not agree:*
 which answer made the good old man blush.

About the fourteenth, the winter, which had for some days abated of its rigour, became all at once supportable; the weather being now soft and serene enough, after one of the most violent seasons ever felt in that climate: but at the same time the waters began to swell in so extraordinary a manner, that those rivers which we had before easily passed, being all frozen, presented us now the prospect of a whole country overflowed.

This change obliged his Majesty to return into the *Ukrain*, there to wait for a better season and one more commodious for the operations of the war, in a country so full of rivers. Orders were given to General *Cruus*, to advance before with some regiments, the King following himself the next day with the rest of the army. We proceeded three leagues to *Kublinka*; at our departure from whence, the King commanded the burning of *Colomak*.

This march was very laborious for the foot, who were always in water, the plain through which they passed in several places resembling a large lake, the rivers had so violently overflowed the country. The artillery especially, underwent great fatigues in this rout, and so did the baggage; which caused his Majesty to order a great number of useless waggons to be burnt; that is to say, those which the troops used for the carriage of their provisions.

This was a fatal day to the regiment of *German* dragoons under Colonel *Albedybl*, who was quartered at *Raschow*, or *Raschouska*, some leagues from *Lutinka*, where Major-General
Sparr

Sparr was posted. The enemy, under the command of *Scheremetbof*, began their attack on an hundred and twenty dragoons, who had been ordered to have an eye on the horse; and having surrounded them on all sides, put them to the sword after they had made all possible resistance. *Scheremetbof* advanced next with twelve regiments towards *Raschow*, where *Albedyhl's* regiment, after a valiant defence, were in part cut to pieces, and the rest made prisoners, with the Colonel himself; three hundred horse only, with the Major, broke through sword in hand, and having made their way through several squadrons, came to *Sparr* at *Lutinka*.

1709.

The enemy laid their hands on all the horses of this regiment, and of part of another, together with their baggage. It was feared, that *Scheremetbof*, after this action, would push his point, and go to *Hadiacz*, with a view of rendring himself master of the baggage; but he attempted no more, and returned to his quarters.

The King hastened the seventeenth from *Rublinka*, where the regiment of guards was obliged to pass the first night in the open field, not being able to cross the waters, which were every day increasing. This disappointment occasioned orders from his Majesty to that regiment, to go two leagues round in search of a bridge, while the Artillery, the *Dabl-Carlers*, and the regiments of *Smoland* and *Cruus*, passed near *Kalentajo*, which was burnt.

His Majesty, with the *Drabans* and the rest of the troops, passed the water near *Rublinka* the eighteenth, after having first set fire to that town, which is the last in the *Russian Ukraine*. They advanced a short league to a river,

1709. where his Majesty halted till they laid over a bridge. The regiment of guards found the bridge over which they were to pass in a very ruinous condition; they presently refitted it, and having passed over, returned to join his Majesty.

The nineteenth, the King returned to *Opuczno* with the *Drabans*, having proceeded only half a league on that day. The march was very tiresome to the regiments, who were to cross all these waters, that had rendered the ground unfirm, and the passes and defiles extremely deep and difficult. As soon as his Majesty was returned, the enemy who had followed us a good while, posted themselves opposite to us on the other side of the river *Worskla*.

The twentieth, Major-General *Hamilton* returned with his detachment, and General *Cruus* set out from *Opuczno*, for *Budiczin*. The King remained some time at *Opuczno*, where *Rank* and *Roos* were in garison, and put part of the regiments which he had taken with him in his last expedition into quarters, on the side of *Pultowa*, namely the guards, *Cruus's*, *Hamilton's*, the *Ostrogots*, the *Smolanders* and the regiment of *Skaraborg*; he then fixed his Head-quarters at *Budiczin*, whither he repaired a little afterwards.

Major-General *Creutz* marched from *Lochwica*, or *Lochowitz*, with his column, to draw nearer the King. The *Russians*, commanded by *Scheremetbof* failed not to harra's him during this march, and attacked his Rear-guard, who received them so briskly that they afterwards suffered him to continue his march very quietly; he had however great difficulty

to pass the waters, and was obliged to burn several waggons loaded with baggage, of which he had the charge. 1709.

At the same time his Majesty having sent orders to *Hadiacz*, to bring up the heavy baggage; the garison marched out, having first destroyed all the works of defence, and passing through *Lutinka* and *Burki*, arrived the twenty-seventh at *Opuczno*, without any disturbance from the enemy.

All the *Swedish* army was now assembled between the two rivers of *Pziol* and *Worskla*, and extended itself from *Lutinka* to *Opuczno*, being the space of twelve *Polish* leagues; where they waited a more favourable season for action, and till the grass began to grow in the fields. The King employed this time, without any relaxation, in visiting and reviewing his regiments. On the first of *March*, *Klint* departed, and the third, his Majesty quitted *Opuczno*, and advanced a league to *Budiczin*, where he had fixed his quarters.

The enemy's horse made some motions, and drew nearer on the side of *Worskla*, throwing some troops into *Kutikva*. *Fittinghof*, a Captain in *Taub's* regiment, who had been detached towards *Worskla*, was attacked by a party of the enemy; which he received so well, that he put them to flight, killed several, and made others prisoners.

Scheremetbof, on another quarter, was advanced nearer to *Pziol*, in the neighbourhood of *Krasnapole*, with all the foot, having placed a garison in *Hadiacz* as soon as it was quitted by the *Swedes*; so that we were now surrounded on all sides by the enemy, a circumstance which made our provisions dear. One of their par-

1709. ties on the tenth shewed a desire of attacking Colonel *Hielm*; but he kept so well on his guard, that they durst not execute their purpose.

The twelfth, all our Cossack ladies arrived at the Head-quarters; and the next day the Prince of *Wurtemberg* set out for his regiment, which was at *Kowalufka*, five leagues from the Head-quarters.

The King's approach having given umbrage to the *Zaporovian* Cossacks, of whom we have spoken above; they writ to *Mazeppa*, to acquaint him that they had sided with the Czar's army, and that they wished to know the designs of the King of *Sweden*, who had come so far to trouble them.

Mazeppa had already writ to these people, at the time that he declared for the King of *Sweden*; but the Express who was charged with the letter had been taken by the *Russians*: He now answered all the heads of their letter, and informed them of the justice of the King of *Sweden's* designs, who, being a formidable conqueror, came to deliver them from the yoke and slavery which the Czar was preparing for them. He animated them at the same time, to follow his example, and to lift themselves under the banners of a Prince who was their protector, and whom heaven had fixed on as the person who was to render them free and happy; and lastly, that this letter might make the greater impression on their minds, he sent one of his Colonels and Judges, a great Orator, who was charged to expound the whole to them at large.

The

The *Zaporovians* being wrought on by these means, sent immediate Deputies to *Mazeppa*, to declare to him that they would take the same side with himself. The Deputies brought at the same time a letter from their *Hettman* to the King. They had audience of his Majesty the nineteenth, and having obtained an answer the next day, they departed well satisfied, and instantly began their hostilities against the *Muscovites*.

The *Russians* being informed of the proceedings of the *Zaporovians*, detached Colonel *Cambel* towards the town of *Torodginska* with three thousand dragoons, to attack the *Zaporovians*, who were to pass that way in order to join us. The *Russian* dragoons were divided into several parties, to scour the country, and hinder the *Zaporovians* from passing; but these to the number of eight thousand men attacked Colonel *Cambel* in the town, killed a great many of his party, and took one hundred and fifteen prisoners: so that of the three *Muscovite* regiments scarce four hundred with their Colonel were saved.

The *Zaporovians* continued their march, having at their head their *Hettman*, named *Ottoman Kokzovy*, who advanced towards the King's quarters, followed by some hundreds of the Chiefs of his country. He was received by *Mazeppa*, half a league from *Budiczin*; the next day he had an audience of the King, whom he addressed in *Latin*; testifying to him the joy which the *Zaporovian* nation felt at his Majesty's arrival, that they besought his protection, giving God thanks that he suffered them at length to enjoy that liberty,

1709. berty, at which they had so eagerly aspired; he afterwards kissed the King's hand, and was treated at court with the principal officers who sat at two tables.

The next day the *Zaporovians*, being assembled in a *Greek Church* at *Budiczin*, took an oath of fealty to *Mazeppa*. The *Pisars* were the first after the *Hettman* who swore; they afterwards made all together the sign of the cross, and kissed the Gospel and the Crucifix. The same day they had an audience of leave of his Majesty, and the next day departed from *Budiczin*, to continue their hostilities against the *Russians*.

The thirty-first Mr. *Sandul*, Colonel of the *Valoches*, departed for *Bender*, to treat with the *Seraskier Turk*, touching the recruits of the *Valoches*. The same day the *Russians* took in *Czinkow*, a Lieutenant with sixteen dragoons, of Prince *Wurtemberg's* regiment, who had been detached to gather up victuals. These accidents, which happened to us from time to time, were unavoidable; for being obliged to fetch our forage and provisions a great way off, the regiments could not avoid sometimes the loss of little detachments, which were sent out to raise contributions. The Prince of *Wurtemberg*, who was the most exposed, desired his Majesty's permission to approach nearer to the head-quarters, which having obtained, he came and encamped with his regiment at *Burky*.

We learnt that day, that the Czar had detached General *Goltz* with nineteen or twenty thousand men beyond the *Dnieper*, to go and join *Siniawski* in *Poland*, who opposed King *Stanislaus*, and caused there great trouble and confusion.

confusion. We learnt further, that there were 1709. five thousand men in *Pultowa*; that *Roun* was at the head of the troops beyond the *Worskla*, designed to cover the frontiers of *Russia*, and that *Scheremethof* commanded the rest of the army, consisting chiefly of foot, and was posted about *Hadiacz* and *Krasnapole*, along the river of *Pziol*. As to the Czar, we knew he was at eighteen leagues distance from his army at *Woronitz*, where he was building ships.

The third of *April*, his Majesty attended by *Mazeppa*, Count *Rheinschild*, and some other officers of distinction, came with a detachment of horse under *Pultowa*, to reconnoitre the place, of which the King resolved to make himself master, on *Mazeppa's* advice, that on our penetrating into *Russia*, we might have a place in our possession through which the succours might pass which were expected from *Poland* to join his Majesty.

Pultowa is situated on the river *Worskla*, which falls sixteen leagues lower into the *Boristhenes*. This town belonged to the Cossacks, but the *Russians* were then masters of it. Many of the inhabitants had retired hither with their effects at the approach of the *Swedes*; so that it was full of riches, corn, and all sorts of provisions.

There was in the town a garrison of five thousand men, under the command of Major-General *Allart*, who had under him a Colonel named *Kellen*. This General had taken care to re-establish the fortifications, and to add some new works, so that it might well pass for a pretty good fortress in that country. His Majesty after having reconnoitred the ground about it, which the *Worskla*, winding itself into several

1709. } ral branches, renders somewhat marshy, returned to *Budiczin*, where he arrived the next day in the evening.

On the thirteenth, an action happened at *Yolkolki*, near the *Worskla*: General *Ronn* having attacked General *Stakelberg* at the head of several regiments, was repulsed with loss, after a very obstinate fight, in which Colonel *Gyllenstierna* was wounded.

The eighteenth, a Lieutenant of the artillery deserted from *Pultowa* to *Budiczin*. All that day a great quantity of snow fell, which being soon melted by the sun, rendered the roads very bad. The army now remained quiet in their quarters.

The twenty-first, three Captains of our *Valoches*, with a good number of their men, went over from us to the enemy.

The twenty-fourth, his Majesty made an excursion to General *Creutz's* quarters, where there was an alarm on some motions made by Marshal *Scheremethof's* troops, by which it was apprehended that he designed to attack General *Creutz*; but this came to nothing, and the King returned the same evening. This day Major-General *Axel Sparr*, was ordered to march with his division to the King's quarters.

The twenty-fifth, some regiments of *Sparr's* column came from *Lutenka* to *Budiczin*. They were the next day followed by the other regiments of foot of his division, which including the garrison of *Hadiacz*, made up eight regiments. *Sparr* began his march with these regiments, that of the artillery, and all the baggage of the army, towards *Pultowa*, to invest that place. General *Scheremethof* at the head of
twelve

twelve thousand men observed his march; but seeing their fine order and the precautions which *Sparr* had taken, he did not dare to attack him, and he arrived safely before the town, without the loss of a single man. 1709.

The twenty-eighth, the regiment of *Dahl-Carlens* decamped and marched to *Pultowa*; and the next day his Majesty followed himself with the *Drabans*, some regiments of horse, and the regiments of foot of *Wermland*, *Westerbothn* and *Calmar*, which encamped at a good distance from the town; so that almost all our foot were arrived, excepting two regiments which remained at *Budiczin*, with the dragoons of *Taub* and *Duker*, under the command of Major-General *Roos*, to keep that post through which the enemy was absolutely to pass, if he would attempt to relieve *Pultowa*.

The first of *May*, *Klint* returned, and the same day the trenches were opened before *Pultowa*; and we had advice that the enemy were drawing troops together near *Opuczno*.

The second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth, the trenches were carried on, but with a very few men, in order to husband our forces, which his Majesty thought not proper to expose before this place, of which we hoped to be quickly the masters, without much loss.

The sixth, Major-General *Roos* seeing the enemy's forces encrease on the other side of *Opuczno*, made an entrenchment all along the *Worskla*, flanked with some works, to dispute the passage of this river: the enemy made a brisk fire on our workmen, of which several were killed.

The seventh, Major-General *Roos* brought up some cannon to play on the opposite bank, detaching

1709. detaching at the same time Major *Lood* with two hundred and fifty men to maintain the post.

The eighth, the enemy past the river over a bridge which they built below *Opuczno*, with foot and horse to the number of twelve thousand men, who attacked our little entrenchment, and forced it by their great superiority of troops, making Major *Lood*, with some other officers, and about seventy foot-soldiers prisoners; the rest having saved themselves after a brave defence of several hours together.

Major-General *Roos*, being informed of the motions of the enemy, before the attack began, drew the regiments of dragoons to the quarters of *Budiczin*; to these were likewise joined two battalions of guards, the regiments of horse of *Scania* and *Horn*, and the dragoons of Prince *Wurtemberg* and *Meyerfeld*, who hastened thither from their quarters. His Majesty came up himself with Count *Rheinschild* and many other Generals, and arrived just at the time when the enemies retired towards the bridge to pass it, and when Colonel *Daker* sallying out of the town to pursue them, attacked their rear-guard so furiously, that they were repulsed towards the river, where more than two hundred men perished. The gross of their troops having afterwards readily repast the bridge, destroyed it, and retired a full gallop to *Kutawa*, leaving behind them all their materials and tools which were to be used at the siege of *Opuczno*, with the two cannons which they had just taken in the entrenchment; but they carried off a pair of Colours in the beginning of the attack.

The ninth, all the regiments returned to *Budiczin*, after having stood all night under arms,

arms, to see if the enemy would return to the charge. As to the garrison of *Opaczno*, after having set fire to the town, they followed the rest of the troops. 1709.

The eleventh, all the troops decamped from *Budiczin*, and proceeded two leagues to *Czuki* near *Pultowa*.

The twelfth, we approached the moat by way of *Sappe*, and made a lodgment, whilst the enemy was intrenching themselves behind the rampart. *Charles Poff* conducted this attack with the grenadiers of the guards, who behaved very well.

The fourteenth, Velt-Marshal *Rheinschild* departed hence for the command of his regiment of horse about *Czuki*, where we had the advantage of forage; for which reason the Cossacks kept themselves here and scoured the country, there being near six thousand *Zaporovians*.

The sixteenth, the enemy made many sham attacks before day both above and below the town, with several discharges of small shot, while twelve hundred men commanded by Brigadier *Gallowin*, with fascines made a bridge over the morass, where the Peasants who were perfectly acquainted with the ground had led them: they all entered the town unperceived. The King thinking they would attempt a battle, hastened to his regiment of guards, and ordered a great number of troops to advance; but as soon as the succours were entered the town, *Menzikof*, who commanded these sham attacks, retired instantly, being content with his success in having conveyed in those troops, and likewise assured a communication with the town

1709. town by a redoubt mounted with cannon, which he had raised near the bridge.

The same day two *Tartar* Couriers arrived in the camp. *Mazeppa* sent them to the King, with propositions from the Han of the *Tartars*, who designed to join us. Towards the evening the rest of the regiment of guards arrived in the camp, and were posted on the side of the Cloyster.

The seventeenth, his Majesty gave orders to raise a little redoubt on the foot of the mountain, on which *Pultowa* is situated, and near the river, at the same place through which the succours had entered into the town. The enemy who were posted on an opposite piece of rising ground, laboured at an entrenchment to incommode us, and the next day caused two battalions to defile down the hill on the bank of the river, opposite our redoubt. These troops gave a volley of small arms on our guard posted there, which returning it in the same manner, obliged them to return back behind their entrenchment.

While these things were doing on this side, the enemy made a sally with eight hundred men, commanded by Brigadier *Gallowin*; but they were so stoutly received by Major-General *Roos* and the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, that half of them were killed or wounded; the Brigadier was made prisoner, and the rest with difficulty enough saved themselves towards the town.

The nineteenth, as the enemy made great motions on the other side of the *Worskla*, where Prince *Menzikof* drew together a body of troops, which appeared desirous of attempting to pass the river and attack us, his Majesty mounted instantly on horseback, and caused all the regiments

ments of foot to defile on the side of the Cloyster, and draw up in order of battle on two lines. The enemy had besides pushed their works that night with great vigour, which gave us further reason to think we should come to blows with them; for which reason Velt-Marshal *Rheinschild* drew nearer with the horse, to be ready to receive the King's orders; but the enemy seeing the disposition of our troops, which were ready to receive them, durst not pass, and contented themselves with keeping us all that day under arms.

The twenty-first, the regiments of foot of *Roos*, *Rank*, *Ulffspar* and *Westerbotn*, came up with the camp. Major-General *Creutz* arrived likewise from his old post, where he had been with his regiment of horse-guards, and posted himself at a short quarter of a league distance. The same day the enemy discharged more than sixty cannon from their entrenchments.

The twenty-second Brigadier *Gallowin* attempted to escape by endeavouring to corrupt the centinel, who refused his bribe, and publicly declared his offer; for which the King gave him sixty crowns to reward his fidelity.

The twenty-third, twenty-fourth, twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth, nothing remarkable past, and the siege went slowly on; we endeavoured to spring some mines, but they were discovered. We lost in these days, a Major, an Engineer, a Captain and a Lieutenant, who were killed in the approaches: the worst was, that our wounded men seldom recovered, on account of the sudden gangrene which attended their wounds, occasioned by the terrible heat.

The twenty-seventh, *Scheremetz* came from *Oltwa* on the *Pziol*, where he had hitherto remained,

1709. maintained to join *Menzikof*, by passing the *Poluzar* and the *Worskla*. The enemy now began to entrench themselves very carefully on the other side and to fortify their camp, after having filled up the morasses and the breaches of the *Worskla* with some millions of fascines, over which they carried on their works, which they armed with cannon and mortars : their lines extended along the river, and on the other side round their camp.

The same day, the Governour of *Pultowa* sallied on our workmen in the trenches, and drove them home to the regiment of *Dabl-Carlia*, where a Lieutenant of this regiment was killed, with some soldiers and *Zaporovians* ; but as soon as this regiment advanced to support the workmen, the enemy retreated in haste, with the loss of some men, killed and wounded. The *Zaporovians*, who had hitherto done good service in the trenches, returned thither no more with a good heart.

On the twenty-ninth the enemy drew their line downward hence to the river ; to which we opposed another line on our side along the *Worskla*, reaching from the town of *Pultowa* under the hill beyond the Cloyster, very near the bank, flanked with works on each extremity ; in the middle were two redoubts near a little rivulet, which winding between *Pultowa* and the Cloyster, falls into the *Worskla* ; several of our regiments of foot incamped behind to watch the motions of the enemy.

The thirty-first, a party of the enemy's Valoches and Calmucks attacked our Valoches near *Czuki* ; but were so well received, that after many of them were killed the rest ran away full speed : our Valoches made ten prisoners in this

this rencounter, amongst which were two of our deserters. The next day a festival was celebrated in the enemy's camp, on which account they made a great discharge from their ordnance.

1709.

The first, second, and third of *June*, were past in looking on each other, and on the fourth, a large detachment of the besieged going forth to forage on the side of the river, his Majesty gave orders to march the guard, who drove them back; but the besieged soon returning with more troops, attacked our guard with all imaginable fury, who defended themselves in like manner without giving one step of ground; the fire, after enduring a good while, ceased on the enemy's part, who beat a retreat, when they saw *Swedish* succours arriving: the besieged re-entered their town with the loss of several hundred men killed and wounded. This day they began new works near the river, more to the left, to cover their bridge of communication. The same day the Czar arrived in their camp with a good number of troops; and their deserters assured us, that they had thirty regiments of foot, as many of dragoons, and upwards of fifty thousand Cossacks and Calmucks.

The sixth, a party of the enemy, consisting of some hundred horse, without reckoning Cossacks or Calmucks, approached on the side of *Czuki*, to reconnoitre the camp of Velt-Marshal *Rheinschild*, who being advertised of the visit, sent out some horse to chase them, and these returned with several prisoners. The same day a Valoche, who had been taken prisoner by the *Russians*, escaped, and brought us word, that the Czar had resolved to attack his Majesty's army in three different

1709. places; however, he executed nothing at this time. A large body of the enemy's Cossacks attacked a great number of Peasants of our party, who were entrenched in a wood near *Cobilak*, half way between the *Boristhenes* and *Pultowa*, but were so well received, that they were obliged to retire with considerable loss. *Mazeppa* gave a large reward to these Peasants.

From the seventh to the thirteenth nothing remarkable past, except that the enemy continued to push on their works, and that we put our lines in a very good condition.

The thirteenth, the Czar drew a new line; and the next day threw four bombs into the town, in which were only contained letters for the Governour.

The fifteenth, the enemy attempted to pass the river with many troops, and attacked the column under General *Cruus*, which by their superiority in number they had the good luck to dislodge, they plundered his baggage, and burnt what they could not carry away; at the same time they delivered more than a thousand *Muscovites*, with their Colonel, who were prisoners under the guard of *Cruus's* regiment; but before their retreat, the *Swedes* killed one hundred and seventy of their detachment which was commanded by General *Heinsoben*. The same day there was an alarm at Count *Rheinschild's* quarters at *Czuki*, as well as at *Pultowa*, where the Governour raised new works towards the river and the bridge of communication, near which we saw many *Muscovite* troops, who did not however undertake any thing.

The sixteenth at midnight, the enemy threw four bombs with letters into the town. The Governor then gave a signal, that he had received

received them. At the same time the enemy past the river in the night with several troops near the village of *Pietrofka*, on Marshal *Rheinschild*'s side; and before day-break they had raised a parapet of seven bastions, upon which they presently posted themselves and displayed their colours, carrying on their entrenchment the whole day. 1709.

Count *Rheinschild* after having ordered General *Creutz*'s division, which was the nearest, to approach, with two regiments of foot, drew out his troops in order of battle, and waited the King's orders. The Prince of *Wurtemberg* very narrowly escaped being taken prisoner on this occasion; for being at too great a distance to *reconnoitre* the enemy, he had been surrounded and taken prisoner, if some officers and dragoons had not hastened to his assistance, and delivered him from the pursuit of the enemy. The *Russians* made a feint to pass the bridge of communication, a quarter of a league lower under *Pultowa*: the King having approached them to *reconnoitre* their motions, had the misfortune to receive a shot which pierced through the boot of his left leg, entering in a little above the toe, and going out at the heel. He took at first no notice of this wound, and continued some time to give orders to his men with the utmost tranquility, in contempt of the sharpest pains, till the blood running in great abundance, declared his wound: he nevertheless expressed no emotion, and returned ^f an hour after slowly

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to

^f In the MSS is written on the margin in the *Swedish* language, 'the King was wounded in the foot, and returned soon on horse-

'back to the field.' So it is not true that he was so many hours together without having it dressed.

1709. to the camp, where they were obliged to cut off his boot, his leg being extremely swelled.*

Count *Piper* and the Generals were much frightened at this wound. The King observing this solemn silence, asked *Neumann* his Surgeon the reason of all their consternation; who answered his Majesty plainly, that the wound was very dangerous, for that some few marks of a gangrene already appeared: at which this Prince, far from betraying any symptoms of fear, replied; *There is nothing in that, cut it away, cut it away.* And causing him to make very deep incisions, which he beheld with more tranquility than the spectators, he supported this horrible operation with a constancy of mind very extraordinary. There was only this violent method to save the King's foot, which must otherwise have been cut off. The expertness of the Surgeon having prevented the gangrene, the King soon found himself able to bear a litter, though the cure went but slowly on, both on account of the excessive heat, and an intermitting fever which much incommoded his Majesty.

About noon, the enemy made a sally with twelve hundred men or thereabouts, and attacked us with great fury in our approaches; but the regiment of guards who then were in the trenches being drawn up, soon obliged them to return. Towards the evening the rest of the *Muscovite* army passed the river, and entered into their new camp. His Majesty having ordered Count *Rheinschild* to raise some works, we began to go about them, whilst several

* The bone of his heel of all the Surgeons but one was broke, and the opinion was to cut it off.

veral regiments advanced to reinforce the Count. At the same time the garrison of *Pultowa* continued to extend their lines on the side of the communication with the enemy, even to the foot of the hill. 1709.

On the eighteenth the enemy carried on their new works near *Pietrofski*, directly opposite to the line which we had drawn against them. That day their gabions were set on fire, which occasioned great confusion: in the mean time they pushed on their approaches vigorously, under favour of a dreadful and continual fire both from their small arms and cannon. They ranged their horse along the river, on the other side, and made a feint to pass, to hinder which, his Majesty ordered our guard near the river to be reinforced, where a Major-General mounted every day. This day the soldiers enquired news of the King, and appeared very much disturbed.

The nineteenth, the enemy brought up more troops in their new entrenchment of *Pietrofski*, on Velt-Marshal *Rheinschild's* side, where they raised seventeen redoubts along the river. The Velt-Marshal who had with him nothing but horse, having presently sent back the two regiments of foot, quitted *Czuki*, and approached within a quarter of a league of *Pultowa*. Few of the enemy's troops were in their works on the other side the river opposite to *Pultowa*; and every thing was easy.

The twentieth, we had an alarm in Count *Rheinschild's* quarters, several squadrons amounting to about six thousand horse, besides Cossacks, advanced in order of battle, and made a show of attacking us. The Count putting himself immediately at the head of his horse, rode a trot to meet them;

1709.

them; and having overthrown them sword-in-hand, broke, disperfed, and routed them, purfuing them a whole league clofe at their heels, and without giving them time to recover themfelves.

The enemy's lofs was confiderable in this rencounter, efpecially in their flight, and we reckoned above five hundred dead on the spot, and in the road. We took an officer of note, with fome foldiers, who told us, that *Menzikof* and *Scheremethof* were in their new camp, with ten thoufand foot and thirty regiments of dragoons; that *Volkonski* had conducted this regiment, and that General *Baver* was prefent, but entirely fuddled: we found likewise the Czar's picture, which that General had loft in his flight. This day we faw a great duft in the enemy's camp on the other fide of the river, by which we knew they were in motion; and they had befides very few men in their works on that fide.

The twenty-first, the enemy had abandoned their works and their lines oppofite to us. Major-General *Sparr*, who mounted the guard the next day near the river, detached fome troops to ruin and burn their works, which was executed. News was brought to the King, that the enemy had drawn all their forces to *Pietroffky*, and had left no troops on the other fide of the *Worskla*. His Majesty was not very well this day, which gave us an apprehenfion of fome frefh inflammation; but towards the evening he grew better. We underftood from fome deferters, that the Czar had yefter-day told General *Baver*, in the prefence of feveral people, that the King of *Sweden* was wounded

wounded in his foot; that it was believed in the enemy's camp, that we should be attacked in a few days by all the Czar's forces, and that there were seven hundred *Saxons* in the City of *Moscow*, who had deserted from the *Swedish* army of *Lubeker*, which were now sent to *Cremlin*, to defend it in case of an attack, the inhabitants of that Capital being under deadly fears. 1709.

The twenty-second news arrived in the night that the enemy was in full march to give us battle, for which his Majesty gave orders very early to the whole army to prepare. The Velt-Marshal, after having remained some time with the King, went forth and put himself at the head of the cavalry, which were ranged in order of battle, whilst the infantry came up, and formed a line of a quarter of a league in length, having the horse for their wings.

All the baggage was left together in the rear of the army, with some regiments and *Zaporovians* to cover it. Some troops had orders to remain in our trenches and redoubts near the river, to defend them. As for the King he was carried in his bed on a litter by two horses, with some *Drabans* and squadrons who marched by his side to guard him.

The army thus ranged in order of battle, stood some hours together in expectation of the enemy; his Majesty having at first ordered them to carry him to the head of his foot, where they took down his litter, a circumstance which extremely animated his troops.

Mazeppa came to the King now, and reported to him, that some *Tartar* Deputies were arrived at *Cobitak* with a *Turkish* escort. Soon after

1709. after Secretary *Klinkostrom*^h arrived, with Colonel *Sandul*, and the *Tartar* Deputies, which were the Captain of the Guards of the *Han* of the *Tartars*, the Voyer-General, and some Murfes, all officers. These being conducted into the King's presence, made their obeysance, while Colonel *Sandul* presented to Count *Piper* an answer of the Seraskier Bashaw of *Bender*, touching the *Valochian* recruits, and *Klinkostrom* gave him a letter from the *Han* of the *Tartars*.

This letter of the *Han* purported in substance, That the *Tartars* were ready to mount their horses against the *Russians*, when they were informed that his Majesty had made peace with the Czar, after having three times demanded it; that the *Russians* who had spread this news, had added, that the King had demanded the Czar's sister in marriage; that the Ministers of that Prince had moreover offered large sums of money to the *Han* of the *Tartars*, to hinder him from entering into the interests of the King of *Sweden*, and to persuade him to embrace the Czar's party; but that the *Han* through the extreme veneration which he bore towards the King of *Sweden*, had refused their offers,

^h Mr. *Klinkostrom* was sent from *Stockholm*, by the Queen Dowager, to bring the King the news of the death of her Serene Royal Highness the Dutchess of *Holstein*, his sister. He was charged, as he passed by a little corner of *Poland*, with a letter from King *Stanislaus*; and having continued his journey through *Hungary* and *Wallachia*, arrived at *Bender*; whence he set out with Colonel *Sandul*

and the *Tartarian* Deputies with a letter from the *Han* to the King. As his Majesty extremely loved his sister the Dutchess of *Holstein*, Count *Piper* forbade *Klinkostrom* to tell his Majesty of her death, whilst he remained ill of his wound. Nothing was therefore presented to him at present, but the letters from King *Stanislaus*, and that from the *Han*.

offers, being thoroughly resolved to run all hazards with his Majesty. 1709.

The King, in the mean time perceiving that the enemy did not come, nor had any desire to attack him, ordered his army to separate; his Majesty with the foot marched towards the Cloyster, of which we have before spoken, which is on an hill opposite to the town, from whence it is only divided by a valley. Here the foot posted themselves, whilst the Velt-Marshal with the horse, marched on the other side of the town, where the King had hitherto been. As to the baggage, it remained where it was, because it was not known whether the enemy would attack us the next day.

The twenty-third nothing remarkable passed, except that towards the evening a body of Cossacks and Calmucks proceeded towards his Majesty's camp to *reconnoitre* us; our advanced guards fired at them. Towards night a deserter from the enemy brought us an account, that the Czar was drawing all his forces on this side the river, and that General *Heinschen* only remained on the other with some regiments, and was posted below the town opposite to the Velt-Marshal. The enemy carried on their intrenchments without ceasing.

On the twenty-fourth we were advised, that the enemy drew nearer, always intrenching themselves as they advanced.

The twenty-fifth *Gyllenkrok* was ordered to remain on the other side of the town, where the trenches were, to conduct and continue the attack. He had with him the *Zaporovians*, who worked not willingly in the trenches; so that *Gyllenkrok* had much difficulty to bring them

1709. them to it. They complained, that they only were always commanded to work, and not the *Swedes*, and said, that they were not our slaves.

The twenty-sixth the enemy made great motions, approaching still nearer and intrenching themselvesⁱ.

ⁱ Here ends the Author's Journal, who had the misfortune to be killed by a cannon-shot at the battle of *Pultewa*, on the side of the King's litter.

ADDITIONS

ADDITIONS
TO THE
HISTORY
OF
CHARLES XII.
KING of
S W E D E N.

NUMBER I.

An Exposition of the unjust Proceedings of King AUGUSTUS, with respect to the Estates of Poland, which gave occasion to the Grand Confederacy entered into against him.

FREDERIC AUGUSTUS, Elector of 1699.
Saxony, was no sooner raised to the royal dignity, than he introduced his Saxon troops into Poland, to make himself master of those who were of an opposite faction. As these observed that their country was began to be harassed by the march of those troops, and by furnishing them with winter quarters at the same time as it was on the point of being exposed to a civil war, by the efforts which this Prince made to reduce the Dutchy of Lithuania, and by the haughtiness with which

1699. which he carried himself, they took a firm resolution to oppose those violent measures, and to stop their current.

The Pope, who foresaw to what extremity the affairs of *Poland* would be reduced, if the minds of the people continued exasperated in this manner, sent a Nuncio, called *Pauhucci*, to offer his mediation, which both sides accepted. In consequence of this, a treaty was concluded at *Lowiecz*, in presence of the Primate and some other Senators, between King *Augustus* and the opposite party then named *Rolloscz*. This treaty contained a great number of articles, and is printed in the *Polish* Tongue. Amongst others, there was one, by which it was agreed to call a General Diet, to settle a good understanding and quiet in the Kingdom. This Diet was called soon afterwards, namely in 1699, and published under this title, *Comitia Generalia Pacificationis Regni: A General Assembly for the Pacification of the Kingdom*. At this Diet the whole Republick seeing the misery into which the Kingdom would be plunged, if they did not stick close to their laws, declined coming to any resolution, because the *Saxons* had no longer pretence to remain in *Poland*; since *Augustus* had been unanimously recognized by the treaty of *Lowiecz*, and a peace was concluded with the *Turks*; so that we had no more to do with any foreign powers.

The Republick could no longer bear to see these foreign troops, which were not in her service, to ravage and destroy her territories; nor would she, who had been accustomed to the enjoyment of perfect liberty, submit to the reproaches of having held a council under the power

power of a foreign force : so that after a thousand arguments on the foundation of our laws, King *Augustus* seeing at last that if he did not yield to the demands of the Republick, he should be obliged to discover those designs of sovereignty, which he had formed immediately on his accession to the throne, gave universal assurance, that one part of his troops were already on the frontiers, in their way out of the country, and that he would without delay give orders to the rest to evacuate the kingdom, reserving only twelve hundred men for his guard, agreeable to the *Pacta-Conventa*. 1699.

The Republick, charmed at this condescension with which King *Augustus* only intended to amuse her, assured this Prince by an express law of every thing he desired for his support.

His Majesty obliged himself on his part not to trouble the publick repose any more with these troops ; but on the contrary, if they were not gone in six weeks, or if any should persist in staying longer, that every one might be permitted to fall on them, and treat them as enemies of the country, pursuing them in any manner with impunity, without incurring his Majesty's displeasure, or becoming guilty of the crime *lese majestatis* ; but that such treatment of them should be deemed a lawful action, and authorised by the laws.

After this solemn agreement, the Diet was continued, and many laws tending to procure and confirm the publick welfare were concluded. The Diet at length ended successfully, and all the world began to look on our nation as one of the happiest on earth, which had a King who delighted in doing good, and was at peace with all his neighbours. But

1699.

But affairs remained not long in this situation: for scarce were these fine hopes conceived when a change happened all at once, which no one had any reason to suspect. The mask which had been so agreeably put on to impose on the Republick, soon fell off; at the news of the taking of *Dunamunde* by *Flemming*; and that only half of the *Saxon* army was departed, tho' it had promised never to re-enter into *Poland*.

The Republick, which was now separated; was offended at these proceedings, and in the resolution which she had taken to oppose the designs of the Court, she found no other means than to beseech the King to convene a Diet instantly; but the King, far from granting their request, held only a *Senatus Consilium*, at which the Primate and upwards of thirty senators assisted; none of which, except four *Saxon* Partisans, would intermeddle with, or hearken to the war begun with the King of *Sweden*.

However, the King pursued his enterprize with obstinacy, attempting to besiege *Riga*; and continually throwing oil into the civil fire which he had kindled in *Lithuania*; and which he laboured by a thousand practices to spread through the rest of the kingdom.

Poland, seeing herself by these means reduced to the brink of ruin, began to stir; and particularly the Palatinates of *Posnania* and *Kalisz*, who sent their Deputies from the Dietine of *Skroda* to intreat the King, that he would forbear violating the *Pacta-Conventa*, and the laws made against his troops; that he would desist from the war with *Sweden*, begun without the knowledge of the Republick; that he would endeavour to extinguish the fire kindled in *Lithuania*;

nia; and lastly, that he, would call a General Diet, to consider of the public affairs. 1699.

On these representations the King called a General Diet, where the Republick began to make their complaints, by representing that the good understanding and interview twice repeated with the Czar of *Muscovy* against the laws of the country, gave sufficient assurances of that fatal yoke which was preparing for them; that, as all this was done without her interfering, she was resolved to enter into no deliberation on any point whatever, before she had obtained a redress of all the grievances which were the subjects of her complaints. It was answered on the part of the King, that this could not at present be done, and that his Majesty must first bring the enterprize he had undertaken to an honourable issue; that he would however call a General Diet in a little time, and would then endeavour to satisfy the Republick on all her pretensions. The time of the Diet being come, the Estates assembled; and demanded satisfaction of the King, for the laws which had been violated with impunity. His Majesty, instead of rendering them justice, proposed only that they would consent to the single enterprize against *Sweden*, without giving any forcible or just reasons which might induce them to agree to so extraordinary a demand.

The Republick now perceiving that the face of affairs was not changed, and that she was in the same situation as before, separated again without having concluded any thing, either for the good of the country or the satisfaction of King *Augustus*; who, seeing that it was impossible to engage the Republick to give her consent to such enterprizes as would be extremely

1699. ly pernicious to her, began to change the ordinary course of affairs; and instead of assembling Diets, he had now recourse to particular councils, which were held at *Thorn* and *Mariembourg*.

On this occasion all the Palatinates of the kingdom protested, and began, by often repeated deputations, to solicit the King, that he would not introduce an unheard of novelty into *Poland*, to which they could never give their consent.

This Prince, finding that this method would not succeed, called a General Diet at *Lublin*; and as the Palatinates of *Poznania* and *Kalisz* desired likewise to send their Deputies thither, they held a Dietine at the usual place at *Skroda*; most of the members whereof interesting themselves in the publick welfare, would not consent to the war with the *Swedes*. The *Saxon* Partizans, who were there, protested maliciously against all that passed in this assembly: so that they were obliged to separate without coming to any conclusion.

The members of this Dietine were scarce retired, when new *Universalia* appeared, published by the *Saxon* Partizans of these two Palatinates, to convene another Dietine; whither a great number of the Nobility repaired, notwithstanding the want of the usual formalities in publishing the said *Universalia*.

The *Saxon* Partisans, fearing lest their irregular conduct would be censured, thought proper to absent themselves; nor did one of them go to the assembly, which, being desirous to improve the precious moment that offered, laboured with extraordinary care and zeal for the tranquillity of the Kingdom, and sent twelve messengers, all persons of the first distinction,

to the Diet of *Lublin*; who, at their arrival, 1695. soon perceived by the clamours of the *Saxon* Partisans, that they would not admit them, but would sooner cut their throats than suffer them to have a free voice; and indeed; tho' they did not take away their lives, they drove them insolently out of the assembly; as if they had been the greatest criminals, or most infamous of men.

These gentlemen, so shamefully driven away, failed not, at their return, to publish a strong Manifesto, particularising all their grievances, against this enormous and unheard of proceeding; of which they likewise complained bitterly in a Dietine summoned at *Skroda*, but which was broke up by a *Saxon* Partisan. The Nobility were enraged at this usage; and hence began their Confederacy at *Warsaw*; which afterwards increased to such an height. The Cardinal's Manifesto, and the instruments of the Confederacy itself forgot none of those acts of injustice, committed by *Augustus*, against the Estates of *Poland*, of which they gave a very circumstantial detail.

Nº. II.

An Extract from the Apology of Field-Marshal FLEMMING for the first invasion of Livonia by the Saxons; translated from the High-Dutch^k:

After the project, concerning *Livonia*, had been laid at *Warsaw*, Mr. *Patkul* and Major-General *Carlowitz* repaired to *Muscovy*; at

K 2

which

^k This piece of Marshal *Flemming's* belongs to Vol. I. pag. 12.

1699. which time I concerted with Mr. *Paikul* the manner of regulating that body of troops, which was then at *Polanga* in *Lithuania*, in order to facilitate the execution of the projected design, while I followed the King to conclude the alliance with the King of *Denmark*, which was already negotiating. The death of the late King of *Denmark* retarded this business; for none of the intelligence, which was expected from that quarter, arrived. Upon this change I offered to go myself into *Denmark*, but the King thought proper to send Count *Bottmar*, with whom, by his Majesty's order, I conferred on that affair, and gave him all kind of instructions. Count *Reventlau* arrived at this time at *Dresden*. To remove all umbrage from Mr. *Welling*, who was in that city, I concluded an alliance with the Count; which was done in eight days, or rather eight nights. We had not time to transcribe a fair copy of the articles, Count *Reventlau* being obliged to set out for *Vienna*; since he had no other pretence for remaining at *Dresden*, than to pay his respects to his Majesty. I was pleased at this opportunity of gaining time, to reflect a little at my leisure on the points of the alliance, and to find out (as I did) somewhat to insert in the secret articles more to the advantage of the King of *Poland*.

His Majesty was not ignorant in what manner his troops were paid, and that they were in general on a very indifferent foot, through the new regulation made under *Lowenbaupt's* direction¹, who had stripped them of their horses, provisions, and every thing necessary for an expedition.

¹ I believe this is a mistake of the Author's, for Count *Löwenhaupt* was in the service of *Charles XII.*

pedition. As this could not be publicly remedied without giving umbrage, it was necessary underhand to remount the troops and put them in a good condition; for this a great deal of money was wanted, which his Majesty will remember I strongly besought him to provide. I treated of myself, and without the King's knowledge, with Count *Reventlau* on this head, who consented, at my instances, to procure me an advance on the revenues of the Post-office, which his Majesty afterwards approved. 1699.

Some time after this I received advice from Mr. *Paikul*, of Mr. *Paikul*'s return, and that there was an appearance of undertaking the affair with success. I resolved to write to Mr. *Paikul*, to make a beginning; but I was dissuaded from it, because Mr. *Paikul* was little known among the troops which he was to command, and had not yet had time to beget any confidence in them; besides which, it was alledged, that the ill state of the troops might prevent the success of the enterprize. Lastly, they gave me hopes of being speedily dispatched, which caused me to acquiesce, without neglecting any thing in the mean time, which might contribute to the happy issue of the affair. I afterwards received a letter from Mr. *Paikul*, touching the arrival of Mr. *Patkul*; and by which he desired me, as I might be detained longer in *Saxony*, to send him orders to begin the business, after first giving an account thereof to the King. Upon which I sent my brother to *Paikul*, with the orders he desired.

Carlowitz and *Patkul* were now arrived in *Lithuania*, and communicated the design to the Colonels, who offered to execute it; on which

1699. account they assembled their troops, and marched towards *Riga*, whence they afterwards returned into their quarters, on a false alarm brought them out of the town. The cold had rendered many of our men incapable of service; but our march had given such an alarm to the governour of *Riga*, that he put himself on his guard on all sides, as we shall see hereafter.

Carlowitz and *Patkul* went to *Leipzig*, to give an account of their negotiations, having with them the treaty concluded with the Czar. *Patkul* observed, that he despaired of success in the enterprize, since they had not begun at the time appointed, &c. &c.

I told *Patkul* there was but this alternative, either to abandon the affair, or to pursue it vigorously; to this his Majesty agreed, but thought it had gone too far to be retracted. *Patkul* was of opinion, that we should undertake it anew, when opportunity offer'd, of which I informed the King, as *Patkul* did not dare appear at Court on *Welling's* account.

I gave his Majesty little hopes, who, after having considered the plan of *Riga*, seemed willing to content himself with the taking of *Cobrun*, after which we might make a bridge of boats, and put ourselves in a condition of gaining by an open war what we could not carry by surprize.

It was necessary to secure the Elector of *Brandenbourg*, on which account a treaty was concluded, stipulating the march of the *Saxon* troops through his country.

I now set out for *Lithuania*, having sent before the Quarter-master of my own regiment, with money and bills on *Dantzick*; and ordered the

the rest of the *Danish* supply, to be sent me 1699.
without delay.

I could then have heartily wished to have executed the design on *Riga*; but I found it not practicable, as well by reason of the precautions which had been taken to put this place in a good condition, as the general discontent of our troops, especially the officers, who, though very brave fellows, protested against this enterprize, which they looked on as the invention of *Patkul* or *Paikul*, in the latter of whom they acknowledged they had very little confidence.

Hence I took an opportunity of conferring with *Carlowitz*, *Patkul* and *Paikul*. They were all three ardently disposed to pursue the design on *Riga*; but I insisted on the execution's being impossible. *Patkul* and *Paikul* agreed with my opinion: *Carlowitz* was at first strenuous for the attempt, but at length submitted to us.

It was concluded to surprize the advanced guard, and attack *Cobrun*, as I had advised. They were for employing no more than five hundred men, but I commanded a thousand, and my regiment of dragoons.

The report which was made to us by those who had reconnoitred the fort, changed these three gentlemen's opinions, and they would have desisted from the attack, and have contented themselves with barely entering into the country; but I remained stedfast in my resolution, and employed all manner of means to animate the officers and soldiers. It is not necessary to shew how I seconded Mr. *Patkul*, in those wholesome orders which were given through the country to gain the affection of the people, or how we beat the regiment of horse of the nobility of the country.

1699.

I had a conference with Mr. *Paikul* about *Dunamund*, and we judged : First, That it was a place of the greatest importance. Secondly, That it must be absolutely attacked in the winter, or never thought of. Thirdly, We gave attention to what we heard ; namely, that one of the courtines had been utterly thrown down to build caserns ; since which, they had not had time to rebuild it, and that this part was now defended only by a single palisade. Fourthly, That the garrison was very small, and little able to support an attack. Fifthly and lastly, We knew that we could take advantage of the low flanks to scale the place ; all which reasons determined us to attack it, and Mr. *Paikul* shewed great impatience to enter upon what he thought infallible.

At last, being determined on the attack, I commanded a body of a little more than six thousand men, the rest having perished where they had been, without fighting. The attack was to be made by two thousand, and, in this case, one thousand were to be used as a body of reserve^m. I had yet foot enough to make the bridge and defend the fort, and was superior to them in horse. His Majesty hath already received an account from me of the execution of the attack on *Dunamund*.

N^o. III.

1700.

Vol. I. pag. 23. add ; The Manifesto published by King Augustus on this occasion, was intituled, Justæ Vindiciæ & summa Armorum Justitiæ, ex parte sacræ Regiæ Majestatis Poloniarum,

^m The original by ill other places, absolute non-pointing is here, as in many sense.

narum, juxta obligationem Paſtorum convento-
rum, præſtitumque Reipublicæ Juramentum, con-
tra Sereniſſimum Regem & Coronam Sueciæ,
ratione ruptæ toties Pacis perpetuæ, violatorum
paſtorum Olivenſium, nec non noviffimæ exagi-
tationis & offenſionis Sereniſſimi Regis Daniæ
& Norwegiæ, perpetui fæderati Regni Poloniæ,
ac Copiarum Regiarum aggreſſionis manifeſtantur:
Anno vindicatæ ſalutis æternæ 1700. Hagæ
Comitis apud Henricum van Bulderen, Biblio-
polam.

Nº. IV.

Vol. I. pag. 23. add; Mr. *Lilieroth* the
Swediſh Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, expoſed
all thoſe reaſons in a Memorial preſented on
the ninth of *July*. The ſame Ambaſſador
ſome time afterwards printed two pieces, which he
diſtributed as well among the States-General and
foreign Miniſters, as his friends. One of theſe
pieces was an answer to ſomething publiſhed by
General *Flemming*, when he invaded *Livonia*
with the *Saxon* troops. The other was an an-
ſwer to a Maniſeſto of the King of *Poland* him-
ſelf, and was intituled, *Veritas a Calumniis*
vindicata, &c. both which being very well
written, convinced the whole world of the juſtice
of his Swediſh Maſeſty's arms.

Nº. V.

Vol. I. pag. 39. add; The treaty of peace
is to be found in *Lamberti*, Tom. I. pag. 52.
Edit. 1704.

Nº.

Nº. VI.

Vol. I. pag. 41. add ; Count Dahlberg, of whom there had been a more special complaint, was already fully justified from a reproach which had so little foundation, by a long letter written to the King his master, the eighth of March this year.

Nº. VII.

Vol. I. pag. 77.] Gratulatio ad Urbem RIGAM, cum a diuturna obsidione, quam per sesqui- alterum annum fortissime toleraverat, liberata esset, per invictissimum Principem, CARO- LUM XII. Suecorum, Gothorumque Regem, qui, trajecto Dunâ, Hostes instructam aciem in adversâ ripâ opposcentes, multisque insuper operibus munitos, fudit, & ad alterum mil- liarium persecutus, opulentis Castris, & ali- quot Castellis firmissimis, eaque omnia quintâ horâ, postquam e Rigensi ripâ solverat, mira celeritate confecit, die Martis, quæ fuit ix Julii, ANNI MDCCI^a.

INclita cui clarum peperit constantia nomen,
Sarmaticas toties frangere docta minas,
Riga, triumphales viridanti fronde Penates
Spargæ: dedit victam jam quoque Saxo
manum.

Qui bellatricem furiis stimulatus in Arcton,
Livonum dira cæde replevit agrum ;
Jam solvit Gothico dilata piacula Marti
Perfidus, ultori victima grata Deo.

Sunt

^a This Piece belongs to pag. 77. of Vol. I.

Sunt iusti superi ! quam primùm læserat Urbem, 1701.

Et prædam dextræ voverat iste suæ,
 Illius ad muros poenam luit : illius ante
 Ora cruentatam sanguine placat humum.
 Iusta capis tandem duræ solatia fortis,
 Riga, repentino subruta pene dolo !
 Vidisti immani pulsari verberare tures,
 Ignivomisquæ quati tecta superba globis.
 Quocunque aspiceres, hic sævus oberrat Jazyx,
 Mistaque Germano barbara turma duce.
 Latæ suburbanis lucent incendia campis,
 Orbaque vastatis frugibus arva rigent.
 Duna frequens quondam deserta luget arena,
 Atque trahit famulam compede nexus aquam.
 Non ignava tamen tanta sub mole fatiscis,
 Auxilii quamvis spes tibi lenta foret :
 Firma sed audacem depellis fortiter hostem :
 Cedit, & indomitas pulsus adorat opes.
 Nec tantum hic miles vallum defendit & Arcem ;
 Ardua sed belli munia civis obit.
 Accinctus gladio vigilatas ducere noctes
 Ardet, & insomnes in statione vices.
 Sic te luctantem cum frigore, cumque ruinâ,
 Altera continuo brumâ sub hoste videt.
 Parce queri : magno nec eras a Rege relicta,
 Festinam quamvis non celeraret opem.
 Illius auspiciis sat erat pugnasse : petitos
 Successus, absens quamlibet, ille dabat.
 Atque rei tutela tuæ, DAHLBERGIUS Heros,
 Se negat incolumi te potuisse capi.
 Belliger interea diverso fulminat orbe
 CAROLUS ; hyberno victor ovatque freto.
 Mox vocat ardentem, majorique incitat æstu,
 Uberior Mosco palma legenda jugo.
 Quotquot ibi pugnans invicto straverat ense,
 Tot simul a muris arcuit ille tuis.

Atque

1700. Atque tibi vicit, cum sævum perderet hostem :

Plagaque tunc socios perculit una duos.

Esse puta tanti duros sufferre labores,

Ut niteant fidei pignora plura tuæ :

Et celebret Rigam totum vaga fama per orbem,

Quæ fovet in molli mascula corda sinu.

Grande moræ precium, laudem cepisse perennem,

Et flexisse acres in sua vota Deos.

Post adserta manu bellacis mœnia Narvæ,

Post quoque Sirmatico fixa tropæa solo :

Plaude, tuus vindex, lauro decoratus opima,

Præsto est, adventu te recreatque suo.

Lecta simul pubes, gelido quæ nata Boote,

Durum vicino robur ab axe trahit.

Prælia quæ poscit, concussisque infremit hastis :

Et, modò quam vincat, flagitat ore manum.

Nec mora, fulmineo ruit impetu : claustra revellit :

Non aqua, non moles continet alta viros.

Immemor in ferrum rapitur : mediosque per ignes

Adversos stricto demetit ense globos.

Saxo cadit : denso sternuntur funere campi :

Decolor inviso sanguine gerges erat.

Pars fugit, obliquum torquetque ad mœnia lumen,

Quæ jam rapta suis faucibus esse dolet.

In speculis Urbs omnis erat, lætata videre,

Qui modo terruerant, terga dedisse fugæ,

Dulcia dumque capit summis spectacula muris,

Vindictâ poterat non meliore frui.

Salve, Urbs clara : tuis redeat Pax aurea ripis,

Exuvias victo quæ tot ab hoste geris.

Cum Narva æternos Regis partire triumphos :

Non decus immensum vindicet una sibi.

Illa

Illā ut præteritum clausit feliciter ævum;
Auspiciū seclī sic eris ipsa novi.

1701.

Clades Saxonum, quos in Poloniā cædibus ac rapinis grassantes, educturum se promiserat Rex Poloniæ: infidiatus tamen Reipublicæ Libertati, contra jusjurandum, tam diu retinuerat, donec a Suecis, quorum provinciam simul invaserant, ad Dunam cæsi, fugatique sunt, Anno MDCCI. die ix Julii.*

Promisit jurans abituras Saxo cohortes,
Lechiadum claras queis modo carpsit opes.
Dum cessat, nectitque dolos, qua calidus arte

Ludere pollicitam posset, ut ante, fidem:
Interea terram miles prædatur inultam:

Diraque finitimos pestis inundat agros.
Sarmata stat dubius, quæ tandem vota sequatur:

Intus agit coecos spesque metusque viros.
Hic honor, & fulvus cupides Jovis incitat imber:

Illic libertas luget avita jugum.
Vectus ab Arctoa, sed tandem CAROLUS

orâ,

Invisam docuit præcipitare moram.
Concidit Gothico devotas ense cohortes;

Et levat infesta rura paterna lue.
Remque simul magnam præstat Regi, atque
Polonis:

Illum promissis liberat, hosce metu.

Nº.

* This Piece belongs to the same Volume and Page, as the preceding.

*Vol. I. pag. 82.] In MITOAM, Suecis ob-
trellare solitam, sed ab iisdem postmodo, caso
ad Dunam exercitu Regis Poloniae, captam,
Anno MDCCI^o.*

POnemodum nugas, Mitoa, nec invida morde;
Si sapias, assiduo fortia corda probro.
Parce laceffitam dictis accendere gentem:

Turpia neu jacta Saxonis armâ tui.

CAROLUS ultor adest, stolidæ convitia
linguæ

Qui premat, & læsam vindicet ense fidem.
Non illum moles, non præceps agere fossa,
Non interjecti territat unda vadi:

Densa, nec opposita, quæ tendunt, agmina,
ripâ,

Telave brumali grandine plura vetant.
Vadit in adversum firmatis gressibus hostem,
Majori in mediis ignibus igne calens.

Saxo latrociniis, quam justis aptior armis,
Obstupet, audacis signa pavetque Gothi.

Quique minabatur Livis clademque necemque,
Barbariâ nixus, perfide Mosce, tuâ;

Projicit arma fugax, inhonestaque vulnera
tergo

Excipit, & fractæ præmia pacis habet.
Hæc populis narra: toto dic Saxonas orbe
Perfidiaæ pœnam rite dedisse suæ.

Narvensi lauro palmam super adde recentem:
Si placet, illa tui tunc cane furta Ducis.

Inveniunt

Inveniunt jam dicta fideri : plausuque feretur, 1702.

Hunc simili socium clade luisse scelus.

Hæc si vera neges : namque hæc, puto, vera
negabis :

Prospice de summis arva propinqua jugis.

Cum cernes totis disjecta cadavera campis.

Truncaque cæforum membra jacere virum :

Cum simul aspicias fufas errare catervas,

Et latebras pavidæ quærere ubique fugæ :

Captivosque greges duci, direptaque castra.

Victrices Suionum quæ subiere manus :

Num credes, Mitoa, tibi ? Num denique
capta,

Incipies posthac discere vera loqui ?

Nº. IX.

Vol. I. pag. 118.] *Epigramme sur le Roi de
Suède.*

A La table des Dieux Mercure louoit fort
Le jeune Monarque du Nort,
En parlant des Héros, qui regnent sur la Terre,
Mars sur-tout vantoit les Lauriers,
Qu'il a remportés à la Guerre ;
Mais Jupiter fut des premiers
A faire remarquer sa Bonté, sa Clémence,
Sa Pieté, sa Tempérance,
Si rare parmi les Guerriers.
Minerve applaudissoit sans cesse
A sa Prudence, à sa Sagesse.
Ce Roi-là, dit Momus, ne fera pas un sot,
Enfin chacun des Dieux, discourant à sa gloire,
Le

* This Epigram belongs to page 118. of Vol. I.

1702. Le plaçoit par avance au Temple de Mémoire;
Mais Venus, & Bacchus n'en dirent pas un mot.

Le 14 de Février, 1702.

Marie Aurôre, Comtesse
de Konigsmark.

Nº. X.

Vol. I. pag. 112. A Writing had been already presented to the Diet of *Warsaw*, &c. This is in *Lamberti*, Tom. I. pag. 25 and 26.

Nº. XI.

Vol. I. pag. 131. This Prince in the mean while gave an answer to the Ambassadors, at the end of the conferences on the propositions, which they had made. See this Answer in *Lamberti*, Tom. II. pag. 163.

Nº. XII.

Vol. I. pag. 158. A medal was struck in Sweden, on this happy event. See *Lamberti* Tom. II. pag. 172.

Nº. XIII.

Vol. I. pag. 180. This Letter is in *Lamberti*, Vol. II. pag. 178. The King of Sweden answered this Letter of the Cardinal in a few words,

words. The other Letters which regard this 1702. affair, are inserted in *Lamberti, Vol. II. pag.* 176, & seq.

Nº. XIV.

The following List respects pag. 157. of Vol. I. where mention is made of the battle of Clissa.

Fell in the Swedish Army.

The Duke of *Holstein*. The Lieutenant-Colonels *Ridderschantz*, and *Verpilie*. The Captains of horse *Alefeld*, *Tornerfeld*, *Jagerskiold*, *Gretdorff* and *Tressenberg*. The Captains *Rheinschild*, *Duwald*, *Oliveblad*, *Snoloki*, and *Syderna*. The Quarter-masters *Sglan* and *Ebtenmark*. The Lieutenants *Fritz*, *Linroth*, *Hegerflycht*, *Andors*, and *Hollfash*. The Ensigns *Skragg* and *Pflug*. Two Corporals of the *Drabans*, *Aminof* and the Count *Lars Flemming*.

Wounded in the Swedish Army.

Major-General *Pofs*. Major-General *Horn*. Major-General *Sperling*. *Gunterfeld* the equerry, who lost both his hands by the discharge of a cannon. The Captains *Cronberg* and *Polus*. The Ensigns *Tigerhielm*, and *Padd*. The Counts *Flemming* and *Apelgréen*. *Harth*, Corporal of the *Drabans*. There were

Killed and wounded in the Saxons Army.

Of the Horse. Lieutenant-General *Flemming*, wounded. Major-General *Maritz*, killed; with two Lieutenant-Colonels, five Captains of horse, five Lieutenants and three Cornets, the Aid-de-Camp, thirteen non-commission'd Officers, and one hundred and three Troopers. There were wounded one Colonel, two Lieutenant-Colonels, two Majors, five Captains of horse, four Lieutenants, six Cornets, twenty-two non-commission'd Officers, and an hundred and nine Troopers.

Of Dragoons. Colonel *Gersdorff*, one Major, seven Captains, three Lieutenants, three Ensigns, fifteen non-commission'd Officers, and three hundred and fifty-five Dragoons, were killed. Colonel *Ruland*, two Majors, five Captains, three Lieutenants, two Ensigns, one non-commission'd Officer, and an hundred and sixteen Dragoons, were wounded.

Of the Infantry, we counted a thousand killed and wounded; besides a great number of prisoners.

Nº. XV.

Vol. I. pag. 126.] *Ad Tumulum Fortissimorum Equitum Gothicorum, qui ductu HUMMER-HIELMII, prope DORSINIAM in Lithuania, Hostium fraudibus circumventi, occubuerunt:*

King CHARLES XII. of SWEDEN. 147

erunt: quorum corpora cum e duobus tumu- 1702.
lis ad viam, Tropei instar, congestis, erui
paulo post jussisset, Rex Sueciae, ut decentius
sepelirentur, eodem die Magna pars oppi-
duli fortuito incendio conflagravit. Anno
MDCCII. die xxxi Martii^a.

Vldit ut immerfos tenui Mars forte fe-
pulchro,

Sarmatico nuper qui cecidere dolo,
Indignatus erat tam fortia corda Gothorum
Inferri tumultis sic sine honore suis.
Eruta mox condi spaciofo jussit in agro,
Mollis ubi verno flore parentet humus.
Caraque supremis celebrat dum funera donis,
Concepit meritas Dorsina sponte faces.
Dorsina nempe sibi funestæ conscia cladis,
Hac voluit flammâ triste piare Scelus.

*Dorsinicia incendio excepta, perpetuum Regiæ
clementiæ monumentum.*

Quam miranda fuit Gothici Clementiæ
Regis,

Dorsina testari tempus in omne potest.
Illa quod adjuvit foedam temeraria cladem;
Centeni nuper quâ cecidere viri :

In tenues meruit redigi damnata favillas;
Ut daret inferias manibus usta piis.
Cum coepit subito tamen exardescere casu,
Stramineasque vorat lucida flamma casas ;

L 2

Rex

^a This Piece with the following belong to page 126. of
Vol. I.

1702. Rex vetat^r ultorem grassari longius ignem,
 Cumque faces posset subdere, subdit
 aquam.

Nº. XVI.

Vol. I. pag. 139.] *Ad Eminentissimum Cardina-
 lem & Primate[m] Poloniae, Principem RAD-
 ZIECOUSCIUM* *.

I LLE, Cupidineos qui temnit belliger
 arcus,
 Versat & indomito pectore Martis opus.
 Quem litui, sonitusque juvant: cui sola vo-
 luptas,
 Hostiles stricto dum rorat ense globos.
 Cimbrica vicino quem cernens litore Tethys,
 Abdidit humenti se tremefacta sinu:
 Quem non Mosci acies, nec movit Saxonis
 ardor,
 Tela nec averfis quæ jacet Hunnus equis.
 Unius adspectu jam fit tractabilis Agni^r;
 Protinus &, posita casside, mitis agit.
 Illa Tuæ parta est, *Radico[us]ci*, laurea voci,
 Excutis Arctoo quâ prope tela Jovi.
 Tu demes Getico pacatus fulmina Regi,
 Si vis armatum vincere, inermis eris.

Perge

* These orders came ap-
 parently too late, since the
 history reports, that they set
 fire to the town near the
 church, which was destroyed
 to the very foundation.

* This Piece and the three
 following belong to page
 139. of Vol. I.

^r Alluding to the Arms
 of the Cardinal.

Perge Tuæ genti sine cæde parare triumphum;

1702.

Utque sacro coëat foedere, sterne viam.

Sic, quæ Sarmaticis incumbunt tristia terris,

Aut Tu, vel nemo, sistere bella potes.

Ad verba Cardinalis, cum in illius honorem propinasset,

Qui est le grand guide à la gloire.

VAdit in adversum dum CAROLUS impiger hostem,

Justaque magnanimos reptat in arma Getas,
Accenditque suo Mavortia pectora ductu,

Ut fuso toties hoste trophæa gerant:

Ipse sibi laudem peperit, famamque perennem,

Atque suis magnum pandit honoris iter.

Te duce, si poterit partos moderare triumphos,

Illius en decoris pars erit aqua Tibi.

Magne Poeta, canas Dotes in Principe Magno,

Quas per Te celebres jam mea Musa filet;

Nam cujus famam totus non limitat Orbis,

Hoc circumscribi Carmine posse negat.

Gloria, virtutes in Juventute stupendæ,

Totque reportatæ Laurus ab hoste suo.

Exsuperant stylum, satiusque silentia poscunt,

Cum nequeat tanto Principe digna loqui.

Tu cantes ergo, quem Ego nunc taciturnus adoro,

Inque sui partem Muneris Agnus abit.

1702. Non illum litui, fremitus, sævæque delectat
 Bellonæ fragor, Pax nisi sola placet.
 Hanc amat, hanc ambit, vobis commendat
 eandem,
 Utpote non Aries, Agnus at Ingenio.
 Hinc non sit mirum, nam si cui cornua defunt,
 Efficiatur huic mitis & ipse Leo.
 Hoc ergo votum scribit Pacificus Agnus:
 Tu quoque junges tuam, Magne Poeta,
 manum.

*Agnus Poloniæ Primatialis ad Inviſtum Scandi-
 naviciæ Leonem.*

SI sine me, generose Leo, mansuescere
 nescis,
 Agnus nec sine Te sistere bella potest,
 Mutuus inter Nos animus fera prælia solvat.
 Hic labor, hic meus est, gloria tota Tibi.

Nº. XVII.

*Vol. I. pag. 218.] CAROLUS XII. Saxo-
 num ad Pultoviam Victor †.*

Continuant solitos Tibi, CAROLE, fata
 triumphos,
 Cum tanto rursus vulnere Saxo cadit.

Difficiles

† This piece belongs to page 218. of Vol. I.

Difficiles nemorum frustra pavidosque recessus,

1703.

Aut vario rapidas vortice quærit aquas ;
Ut fugiat pœnas dextræ, quam nulla morantur

Flumina, nec retinet Martis & Artis opus.
Miratur natura suos vanescere vires,

Atqui uni CAROLO cuncta patère stupet.

Ille, per oppositas tumidis cum fluctibus undas,

Æterni intrepidus pandit honoris iter.

Sive super structos, celeri conamine pontes

Ædificet famæ templa beata suæ ;

Sive moras rumpens, primus penetrare profundum

Torrentis doceat calce natantis equi ;

Sive per obscuræ suspecta silentia sylvæ

Insidias spernens, nox metuenda, tuas :

Opprimat hostiles fesso jam milite turmas,

Ardorisque sui præmia digna legat.

Quo fas humana est ascendere, CAROLE, laudi,

Hunc Tua jam virtus tangere visa gradum.

Attonito mundus spectat tua prælia vultu,

Sed superat majus nomina tanta decus :

Cum minor armatas tibi gloria cædere gentes,

Totaque non domita fundere castra manu ;

Hostis quam miseræ prostrati parcere vitæ,

Victorique animo ponere nosse modum.

Desine belligeros jam, Saxo, laceffere Gottos,

Et monitus terno vulnere bella fuge,

Fas animum attollit : firmat fiducia causæ ;

Degener haud intrat pectora iusta metus,

1703. Cui fidei infectum languet rubigine ferrum,
Non acuet tota doctus ab arte labor.

Nº. XVIII.

*Vol. I. pag. 262.] In TORUNIAM captam,
die iv Octobris 1703^x.*

SI luis alterius notum, Torunia, crimen,
Hospitis exitium pene secuta tui,
Non odio factum est: admissos mœnibus
hostes

Una fuit Gothico lædere cura Duci.
Qui quoque, cum pulcri fumarent igne pe-
nates,

Vifus erat fatis ingemuisse tuis.
Parcere non licuit tectis, cum perderet
hostem:

Ille tua primum clade domandus erat.
Quassa sed impletis quis propugnacula fossis
Increpet? hæc tanti causa fuere mali.
Quid gravius ferres, si muris nuda fuiffes;
Congesta præceps nec foret agger humo?
Quod te lædat abest: nec habet, qua collocet
arce

Saxo peregrinas insidiosus opes.

Nº.

^x This Piece belongs to pag. 262. of Vol. I.

Nº. XIX.

Vol. I. pag. 271.] *In Naufragium Saxonum cum
in Sueciam trajicerent, MDCCIII.*

Gens acie toties quæ decertavit iniquâ,
In solida quoties arma movebat humo :
Scandit Hyperboreas postquam captiva tri-
remes,

Clade simul liquidas nobilitavit aquas.
Persequitur fortuna viros : queis terra pe-
percit,

Devotos pœnæ tradidit unda suæ.
Abnuit Hippotades placido traducere ponto,
Pectora ventosis mobilia notis.

Evocat egelidum Boream, Eurumque mi-
nacem,

Ut vexent medio carbasa tensa falo.
Oebaliæ fugere faces : nimbofus Orion
Æquoreas turbat nube repente vias.
Ipsa Thetis metuens gremium incestare pu-
dicum,

Longius invisum ferre recusat onus.
Corpora jactantur scopulis illisa marinis,
In terris nunquam sistere sueta gradum.
Tiphys, malam mercem puppi transmittis
adunca :

Si nescis, dirum vector hic omen habet.
Non satis est fontes animas merfisse pro-
fundo :

Immeritos secum fors trahit illa viros.

Tantum

¶ This piece belongs to page 271. of Vol. I.

1703. Tantum crimen erat socia vexisse carinâ,
 Perdere quos tellus, æther, & unda vo-
 hunt !
 Hæc tria nam justum poterant explere fu-
 rorem
 Solus, quem fugiunt, ignis inultus erat.

Nº. XX.

Vol. I. pag. 212.] Prince Maximilian Emanuel of Wurtemberg arrived the twenty-first of March, at Okniow, the Head-quarters, with Baron Voit, Privy-Counsellor of Anspach, and Mr. Osiander the Prelate. He departed from Stutgard in the month of January, with his eldest brother, whom he left at Berlin, and proceeded by the way of Dantzick, Marienburg and Thorn, to Warsaw; where he demanded leave to pay his respects to the King. He had an audience the moment after his arrival at Okniow, and having presented to his Majesty a letter from the Duchess his mother; the King, after some compliments, asked him, seeing him so young (for he was but fourteen) if he could well resolve on making a campaign with him? The young Prince declared in the affirmative, with a briskness which much pleased the King, who presently settled him a court, and appointed him quarters near his own, and admitted him daily to his table. The King answered the Duchess's letter in a style very favourable to the Prince, whom he equipped with servants and money to support his dignity.

This

This young Prince began presently to insinuate himself much into the King's favour, 1703. whom he attended in all his excursions; and as some fears were entertained for him, because he was always in the King's train without a governour, he desired leave to carry his own with him; the King answered, he would himself take upon him the charge of his governour. As to the Prelate *Osiander*, the King gave him at his departure, which was in a few days, the character of Ecclesiastical Counsellor of *Sweden*.

Nº. XXI.

Vol. I. pag. 213.] The King at his return from *Warsaw*, whither he had gone to see the Trophies, and order a bridge to be thrown over the *Vistula*, had a dangerous fall on the road, being mounted on the same horse, in falling from which he was so dangerously hurt, near *Cracow*. His sword fell out of his scabbard, and passed under his arm, without doing him the least mischief.

Baron *Voit* being obliged to return to *Anspach*, on the death of the Margrave his master, desired the King to bestow his place on another officer; which the King gave to *Gustavus Adlerfelt*, a gentleman of his court.

Nº. XXII.

Vol. I. pag. 219.] The Prince of *Wurtemberg* was present at the affair of *Pultowfsk*, but did

1703. did not arrive till our troops had entred pell-mell with the Saxons. This young Prince pursuing one of the enemy's dragoons into the town, the dragoon despising him, turned about and cried out in *High-Dutch* with a disdainful air, *How dare you, little boy, pretend already to attack a man?* which the Prince answered, by running his sword up to the hilt in his body. He signalized himself very much on that day, being twice shot through the coat as well as his boots.

N°. XXIII.

Vol. I. pag. 226.] The twelfth of May, new style, the King was on his march towards *Thorn*, going to visit a regiment with the Prince of *Wurtemberg*; the latter, during the darkness of the night, rode before the King, and as they were on the gallop, his horse threw him into a ditch, which he could not discern. The King, who did not perceive either the Prince's fall or the ditch, tumbled himself with his horse on the Prince's back, and that with such violence that he deprived him both of his speech and his breath, and would have perished if the King had not presently relieved him, and helped him to recover himself and remount his horse. They had four long leagues to the Head-quarters, where they arrived at midnight, the Prince not having yet recovered his speech. His Majesty express'd an extraordinary concern at this accident; but the Prince, after having taken a medicine which made him sweat,

sweat, grew so well that some days afterwards he was able to mount his horse. 1703.

N^o. XXIV.

Vol. I. pag. 229.] The cannon-ball which took off General *Liewen's* leg before *Thorn*, passed over the heads of the Princes of *Saxe-Gotba* and *Wurtemberg*, who were laid on the grass just by.

The enemy every morning and evening made three discharges on the King's quarters^a. It happened one evening as his Majesty came out of his tent, where he had been at supper with the two Princes, a bullet fell between them, and rolled home to the tent; but becoming wet, it lost all its force, and was capable of doing no mischief.

They attempted to persuade the King of *Sweden* to raise some breastworks before his tent^a, as a security; and one day when he was absent they set up an heap of hay before it, as was done before those of the other Princes, and all along the *Drabans* quarters; but at his return he made them remove it. Every time that the King went out of the village of *Mokre*, where his quarters were, the enemy aimed some cannon-shot at the street through which he passed; but happily they did no other mischief, than that of throwing some sand and dust in his eyes.

The tenth of *July*, new style, the King, attended by the Prince of *Wurtemberg* and Major-Ge-

^a This concerns what passed at the siege of *Thorn*, which is spoken of in *pag. 227, 228. of Vol. I.*

^a This, and the following Articles, respect the siege of *Thorn*.

1703. General *Meyerfeld*, made a tour at ten in the evening towards the posts of the enemy, to reconnoitre them; ordering each of them to follow, at twenty paces distance one from another; which occasioned the Prince of *Wurtemberg* through the darkness of the night to miss his way, and fall, as he thought, on the advanced guard of the *Saxons*, which he apprehended by seeing one retire behind a thicket. Upon which having demanded the *quivive* with his pistol in his hand, and receiving no answer, returned without firing to look for his Majesty, whom he could not find, but met only with Mr. *Meyerfeld*; with whom he returned to the camp, whither the King came a moment after him. The Prince having told his adventure, his Majesty asked him, why he did not fire? to whom he answered, that he was not sure whether they were *Siwedes* or *Saxons*; at which the King laughed, and it was believed his Majesty had done this himself to try the Prince.

The King was all the nights in the trenches during the bombarding of *Thorn*, and the Prince of *Wurtemberg* always by his side. They remained there till the break of day, and then retired into their tents for some hours repose. After dinner, his Majesty visited the regiments and the work-men; and this he continued during the whole siege.

We carried away from *Thorn* seventy pieces of cannon, and two mortars.

The King was lodged at *Topolno*, in a convent.

The seventeenth of *December*, which is a market-day at *Braunsberg*, a little town of *Prussia*,

Prussia, the Jesuits who have a college there had the honour to entertain his Majesty at dinner. 1703.

The nineteenth as we passed by the village of *Bleswitz*, an house was set on fire by the negligence of a valet, who fired at some birds which were perched on the top of a barn covered with snow, which did not however hinder it from taking fire. The Chancery, with the other adjacent quarters, were in great danger.

Nº. XXV.

Vol. I. pag. 277.] Heilsberg is the capital of the bishoprick of *Worm*, the bishop of which was retired to *Konigsberg*. He is a senator born, as the other bishops, and receives two thirds of the revenues of the country, the Chapter receiving no more than one third: They form together the sovereign power of this fine principality, on which two towns depend. The town of *Heilsberg* is well built, in the *Dutch* or *Prussian* fashion, and hath a fine castle surrounded by a wall, where the King and the two Princes were lodged. The inhabitants speak *High-Dutch*, but they are fonder of the *Polish* language. This place is rendred famous by the Cardinal *Stanislas Hosi*, who was of it, and a great enemy of *Luther*. His picture chanced to be in the hall, where his Majesty caused divine service to be performed.

The King, according to his usual custom, caused prayers to be read twice a day, during the

1703. the whole time that he remained here, in the morning at seven, and in the afternoon at four; and he never failed assisting on his knees. In the morning he employed himself in the Chancery, and after dinner he rode on horseback and exercised his *Drabans*, and sometimes visited the nearest regiments, especially towards the spring when the reviews began.

N°. XXVI.

Vol. I. pag. 293.] At *Pietrowin*, when King *Augustus* was pursued by *Rheinschild's* army, this Prince's quarters took fire, where many noblemen and officers were burnt. The Marshal, one Chamberlain, two Gentlemen of the Chamber, the Physician, the Court Barber, several pages, valets, and twenty other persons perished in the flames.

The King used to exercise his *Drabans*, dividing them into two bodies. He commonly commanded one party, and some of the Generals the other. The day of Prince *Alexander Sobieski's*^b departure from *Heilsberg*, his Majesty having made them perform all their evolutions; and having through haste and forgetfulness left his charger in his pistol, he fired it into the breast of *Mr. Hard*, who pressed him with his squadron, of which he died in a few days. It is impossible to express either his Majesty's grief, who had a great esteem

^b See pag. 296. of Vol. I.

esteem for Mr. *Hard*, or that brave officer's resignation to the divine will.

1704.

Some time after the King taking off the Prince of *Wurtemberg's* peruke, told him, that his hair became him much better; on which account that Prince afterwards wore his own hair, in imitation of his Majesty.

Nº. XXVII.

Vol. II. pag. 42.] *Ad invictissimum Suecorum Regem CAROLUM XII. de capta Leopoli, Anno MDCCIV, die xxvii Augusti*^d.

Inclyta Sarmatici tutela Leopolis agri,
 Hactenus incassum mille petita procis :
 Quam conjurato Dacus non terruit Istro,
 Densa nec indomitis turma Mœotis equis :
 Quamque fatigarunt non sæva Boristhenis
 arma,
 Cum quateret patrium mota procella solum.
 Quam non innumeræ, Bysantia signa, phalanges
 Longinqua poterant perdomuisse morâ :
 Nunc illibatum Tibi, CAROLE, cedit honorem,
 Non prece, sed ferro ducta virago tuo.

^d See the attack and taking of this place in the 42d, and following pages of Vol. II.

1704. Quam male sustinuit jam primum luminis
ictum,

Quæ timuit rigidas nullius ante minas!
Strata tuis pedibus, captivo vincula collo
Plorat, & ereptas virginitatis opes,
Hinc tibi servavit laurum fortuna recentem,
Invia virtuti ne foret ora tuæ.
Indulgensque Tibi, quod non imitabile cui-
quam,

Adfuit inceptis obstupefacta novis.
Non te turrigeris adjectus mœnibus agger,
Non arx prærupto nubibus æqua jugo:
Non plena armato moles custode moratur,
Telave, quæ spissâ grandine plura volant.
Primus in adversum per densa pericula vallum
Tendis, & infestos proruis ense viros.
Vix tamen in capto statuis fulgentia muro
Arma, simul finem senserat ira suum.
Non dolor ulterius ferro grassatur & igne:
Quâ vincis, victos protegis ipse, manu.
Cum nescis vinci, de Te tamen ipse trium-
phum

Ducis: & hac proprium colligis arte
decus.
Pulchrum est ignoto posuisse sub axe tro-
phæum,

Majorum nemo quâ tulit ante pedem:
Et cepisse arces unâ velocius horâ,
Quas nequirit longus comminuisse labor:
Miles at illius venit in confortia laudis;
Decerpitque sibi, quod negat esse Tuum:
Cum Tua victrices clementia temperat iras,
Linquitur hæc titulis integra palma Tuis.

N^o. XXIX.

We forgot to mention the affair of *Dantzick*, and Count *Piper's* answer to the Magistrates ; for which see *Lamberti Vol. III.* pag. 646.

N^o. XXX.

Vol. II. pag. 129^c.] Whilst his Majesty remained at *Ravitz*, the *Swedish* Fleet was getting ready to sail from *Carlsrone*, to make an attempt on *Cronslot*. The following is the list of the ships :

Vessels,	Guns,	Men.
<i>Wesmanland</i>	50	200
<i>Holland</i>	40	190
<i>Wachtmeister</i>	35	160
<i>Gotbenburg</i>	35	160
<i>Wréed</i>	35	160
<i>Norcoping</i>	35	160
<i>Revel</i>	35	130
M 2		<i>Stralsunde</i>

* This little Scrip which was found among the Author's papers, should be placed at the 129th pag. of Vol. II.

1704.

Vessels.	Guns.	Men.
<i>Stralsund</i>	35	150
<i>The Falcon</i>	20	85
<i>Eleonora</i>	20	85
<i>Saurenfrue</i>	20	85
<i>The Dauphin</i>	20	85
<i>The Postilion</i>	20	85
<i>The Kuschensell</i>	20	85
<i>Goya Brigantine</i>	15	50

Bomb-Ketches,

<i>Castor</i>	15	50
<i>The Thunder</i>		20
<i>The Vesuvius</i>		20
One Vessel for the sick		30
One Vessel to carry provisions		320
One Advice-boat		30

There were in all 462 Guns,
2340 Sailors, without reckon-
ing the Soldiers.

This

This squadron commanded by Admiral *Ankerstierna*, and the Vice-admirals *Sparr* and *Prou*, having set sail from *Revel*, where they landed some recruits, arrived the sixth of June before *Cronslot*. Here the Admiral and Vice-admiral *de Prou* having ranged their ships in line of battle, Baron *Sparr* under the favour of the smoke from the guns sailed with his squadron to a point of the island *Retusari*, where a *Russian* Colonel was posted with his troops,

While our ships made a continual fire and threw balls and bombs on the enemy's fleet and batteries, *Sparr* disembarked his troops on forty flat boats, which attempted to land in the island under cover of the cannon from his ships; but they could not succeed, the boats running aground at too great a distance from the shore: so that after some loss, several being killed, and thirty-seven soldiers taken prisoners, with the two Captains *Rose* and *Fock*, and two non-commission'd officers, they gave the signal of retreat, leaving behind them five flat boats which the enemy took possession of.

Admiral *Ankerstierna* being desirous of making a second trial, and having learnt that the enemy was considerably reinforced, sent Colonel *Nierodt* to Lieutenant-General *Maidel*, to desire of him a reinforcement of some troops; to which *Maidel* would not consent: for as he had but five thousand men,
he

1704. he was not willing to weaken himself. When *Nierodt* returned with this answer, the Admiral persisted no less in his design of attempting an attack; the officers, soldiers, and sailors all expressing an extraordinary desire to come to blows with the enemy.

The fifteenth of *July* was chosen for the attack. In the morning we began with making a very violent fire on the enemy, and at four in the afternoon the Admiral ordered the attack in the following manner. Captain *Unger* of *Sternberg*, with one hundred grenadiers, was to open it; he was supported by Major *Aderkas* and Captain *Mentzer*; Colonel *Nierodt* led the main battle, having Colonel *Schlippenbach* on his right, and on his left Major *Hertzog*.

This disposition was well made, but the event did not answer the hopes which had been conceived of success; the shalloops falling presently on a shallow bottom covered with sharp rocks, which shattered some of those boats and overset others. The Vanguard however, commanded by *Aderkas* and *Mentzer*, threw themselves courageously into the water, which at first was no higher than their knees; but soon came up to their necks, and cost several their lives who attempted to swim. These two difficulties being surmounted, another greater presented itself. The *Russians* who lay on their bellies before their batteries which were charged with

with cartridges, made so dreadful a discharge from their small arms, which was seconded from their ordnance, that the *Swedes* who were landed could not sustain the fire, but retreated in confusion towards their *shal-loops*. The enemy pursued them, and killed several of those in the water with their fuses; at the same time attacking the *shal-loops*, and took many of our soldiers, till the fire from our ships at last forced them to retreat.

This fight, which lasted but an hour, cost us twelve officers, amongst whom were the Captains *Unger* and *Gilbert*; nor do we yet know whether they are dead or living. We had nine other officers wounded, the Admiral himself being hurt. We had four hundred soldiers killed, and one hundred and seventy wounded. Our loss had been more considerable, if the *Russians*, who pursued the *Swedes* with twenty *Lodians*, had succeeded in that enterprize. The Engineer Captain *Lavalle*, who had been late the night before to reconnoitre the island and the fort, had much dissuaded this attack; protesting, that if the affair, which appeared to him impossible, should not succeed, it should in no wise be laid to his account.

In the month of *September*, a little before the coronation of King *Stanislaus*, General *Schlippenback*, Envoy extraordinary from the King of *Prussia*, who had followed the army from *Ravitz*, had an audience of the King
of

1704. of Sweden at *Blonia*. Some days afterwards the Privy - Counsellor *Printz* arrived here from *Berlin*, but he quickly returned. Orders were given, if possible, to delay the coronation.

In speaking of the battle of *Fraustadt*, we have given *Rbeinschild* the quality of Velt-Marshal and Count; but he was then only Baron and General. He was not made Count till the grand promotion, which we mentioned just after the battle, when the King was at *Jarislavice*, on the point of entering into *Saxony*.

NUMBER

NUMBER XXXI.

*An Abridgement of the Campaign which the Swedish Army made in Finland, Anno 1708, under the command of Major-General Baron Lybecker.**

AS soon as the Major-General had received his orders from the Senate of Sweden, concerning the invasion which he was to make on *Ingria*, as well to draw the enemy from that side, as to hinder them if possible, from disturbing his Majesty's march to the *Ukrain*, all our forces in *Finland* to the number of twelve thousand men, as well foot as horse, were put in motion, and departed the tenth of *August* N. S. from the town of *Wiburg*.

The next day it unluckily began to rain, which continuing fifteen days without ceasing, made the roads almost unpassable, and consequently the march extremely difficult and laborious. At last, after they had surmounted all obstacles, and were arrived at a place named *Keltis*, situated two leagues from the *Neva*, the army which had pitched their camp, learnt from their parties which had been sent to *reconnoitre* the enemy, that they were posted on the other side the *Neva* with five thousand men, to oppose our passage over the river, to which purpose they had raised a small battery of four field-pieces. Upon this advice, Mr. *Lybecker* detached immediately Colonel *Henry Haftfer* with two thousand men, having with him pontons for the passage, with orders to attack and dis-

VOL. III. N lodge

* This relation belongs to the second Volume.

1708. lodge the enemy. As soon as Mr. *Haftfer* had arrived at the river, which in this part is very rapid, he embarked sixteen hundred foot under the command of the Lieutenant-Colonels *Stiernstrable*, *Krusenstierna*, and *Clas Skog*, who notwithstanding the continual fire from the two *Russian* galleys, and from the batteries on the opposite side, crossed the river, and attacked the enemy with so much bravery, that after a bloody and obstinate fight which lasted an hour, they put them to flight, with a dreadful slaughter.

This action being over, and the army being drawn down to the river, they continued to pass for thirteen days together. They then marched in several columns from *Tusma* to *Ingris*. The Major-General having received advice that the enemy had some magazines near *Duderdorff*, about three leagues from *Ingris*, filled with soldiers clothes and provisions, he put himself at the head of three thousand horse, and set out in the morning to surprize and seize on those magazines: but as this country is full of defiles and of difficult passes, the horse were very much put to it to surmount them, and were thereby retarded in their march. Being at last arrived near a great defile named *Karbula*, where the enemy had three hundred dragoons, the *Swedish* van-guard, consisting only of forty dragoons, attacked them so fiercely on a gallop with sword in hand, that they did not give them time for a single discharge, and pursued them close at their heels, killing some of them, and taking twenty prisoners.

The General after this rencounter, finding his men extremely fatigued, made them halt to give them a little breath, their horses being so fatigued

fatigued that they could go no farther; but 1708.
having heard a moment afterwards that the enemy had set fire to those magazines, from whence they were only at one league's distance, he ordered his troops to return to their camp. The army marching in excellent order, passed near *Petersbourg* and *Cronstadt*, and came to a place called *Heiligbusch*, where they pitched their camp. Here the General on his first arrival, which was the thirteenth of *September*, called a grand council of war, to consider what was to be done in so advanced a season, and when the army was so fatigued by continual and laborious marches: it was at length resolved, to send Major *Schlippenbach* with a Brigantine from our fleet at *Reval*; to know of the Lieutenant-General of that name, if the army could by any means be subsisted during the winter in the province of *Esthonia*.

Till the answer was brought back, the army having passed half a league from *Kapuria*, encamped at a place called *Weska*. The General detached two thousand horse to take *Kapuria*, where Brigadier *Friser* was advantageously posted with some thousand men, having before him a large trench armed with *chevaux de frise*, a parapet, and some field-pieces. As soon as our horse were in sight of the enemy, they dismounted and attacked them in the instant with such force, that notwithstanding the enemy's fire, and their advantageous situation, they were overthrown after half an hour's fight, and forced to fly in disorder. They did not think proper to pursue them, and after they had taken at this place the enemy's chancery, the detachment returned and joined the army. Amongst

1708.  their papers was found the plan of an operation against the *Swedes*, which consisted in marching against them upwards of twenty thousand men drawn from different garrisons, and which were already in motion to cut off our retreat.

As the season was already very far advanced, and the cold began to grow very rigorous, it was resolved to march the army towards the sea, to embark the troops on board our fleet, which was to transport them into *Finland*. The General had preferred this resolution to any other, because the passage into *Esthonia* on *Narva* side, appeared to him at first more difficult than it really was. However, the army being repaired to the sea-side the tenth of *October*, near a place called *Kolkaupa*, where our fleet lay at anchor, began the embarkation, which lasted fifteen days, during which, without any necessity, and from the effect of a panick terror which had no solid foundation, the General ordered all the horses to be killed, which amounted to five thousand, and which were massacred accordingly, to facilitate our retreat. The rear-guard composed of four hundred *Saxon* foot, and commanded by Major *Seulenburg*, being on the point to be embarked as the others had been, was attacked by the enemy, against whom they defended themselves with wonderful bravery for several hours, but were at length for the most part slain, and the rest made prisoners. The fleet sailed with the army to *Biorokoo*, four leagues from *Wiburg*, where they landed in *Finland*. This was the unhappy issue of an enterprize, which had at first appeared so advantageous, and which had certainly produced the greatest consequences, if it had been conducted with more vigour and prudence.

prudence. It had now no other effect than the loss of numbers of the inhabitants of that country, who having declared too soon for their antient masters, were all carried into slavery.

1707.

*A Relation of the battle of Pultowa,
with some reflections on the two pre-
ceding campaigns.*

WHEN the late *Charles XII.* was in *Saxony*, he would have been very glad to have made a peace with the Czar, if that Prince had been then inclined to conclude such a one, as in a conjuncture so glorious for *Sweden*, might have been the least reasonable.

It is true that the Czar did offer one; but the condition *sine quâ non*, was not relished by the King, his enemy absolutely resolving to keep the port of *Petersbourg* on the *Baltick* sea, which could not be yielded to him without entirely overturning the whole system of our politics.

Besides this, the Czar was too deeply engaged with the Emperor, *England* and *Holland*, who continually fomented this war, in order to give a diversion to the courage of the young *Swedish* conqueror, whose friendship for *France* was much apprehended by them. Several letters were intercepted about this time, advising the Czar, to expose and ransack his provinces and estates, sooner than give up the least article of his pretensions.

Charles XII. who saw himself at the head of the finest and most warlike army that perhaps ever was, elated with his great successes, and in no humour to have conditions prescribed him, departed from *Saxony*, to impose reasonable ones

1707.

on his formidable enemy, and such as might for the future secure the repose of the North, but especially to shut up the *Russians* within their antient bounds.

It is however certain, that his Majesty left *Germany* with regret, where he wished to remain to be the mediator between *France* and the Allies; but the destiny of this brave Prince was written in Heaven, and he was drawn against his will into a chain of difficulties and misfortunes, which almost inevitably attended him, and against which he had occasion for all his courage to support him, as we shall see hereafter in this Relation.

As soon as the King came into *Poland*, the *Russians* gave ground to him, always retreating backwards, burning, plundering and ransacking all that they met with on their way, without ever coming to a decisive battle. Our army having in this manner passed through *Poland*, sometimes coasting along the borders of *Prussia*, the King put them into winter-quarters in the Grand-Dutchy of *Lithuania*, where he chose the little town of *Radeschowitz* near *Wilna* for his head-quarters.

The time being come for opening the campaign, it was uncertain what rout they should take to pursue the enemy; for there were two which might bring them to him. The first was that of *Poloksko*, whence it was easy to turn to the side of *Novogorod*, and there to join the armies under Count *Lowenhaupt* and General *Zybecker*; but after having deliberated on this affair in the council of war, it was found impossible to subsist these three *Swedish* armies in that province. The Czar moreover had not abandoned his resolution, of burning and destroying all

all the country through which we were to pass, a project which he could easily execute in that part of his dominions. We might have easily turned towards *Livonia*; but that poor country as well as *Esthonia* and *Ingria*, had suffered so much, that they had not wherewithal to subsist the least army, the adjacent parts being yet in a condition less capable of furnishing us with succours, either for our foot or horse. It was not less inconvenient to march to the city of *Moscow*, passing through the Dutchy of *Twer*, by reason of the continual woods which are in this Dutchy and that of *Novogorod*, through which there are only two roads, which besides the great number of defiles and morasses, might have been easily rendered impassable by the enemy, the first leading directly to the town of *Twer*^b, and the second through that of *Tiflina*.

All these difficulties appeared unsurmountable, it was therefore resolved to think no more of this rout, especially as we flattered ourselves that General *Lybecker* had sufficient forces to invade the provinces of *Novogorod* and *Pleskow*, the Czar being obliged to employ the chief part of his army to oppose that of his Majesty.

After this rout was rejected, it was deliberated whether we should take that of *Smolensko*. Here were the same difficulties with regard to the wood, which is of a considerable length and full of morasses, through which the army must

N 4

defile

^b This is the road which is at present called, *The great Perspective*; for the Czar *Peter* had cut a way thro' it, which begins at *Stara Russa*, and goes as far as *Twer*; there are no villages

on the way, and we meet only with some miserable huts dispersed at certain distances, which serve the travellers for lodging in case of necessity.

1708. defile several days together. This wood begins at *Smolensko*, and extends to the town of *Mos-sako*, which is but a very little way from *Mos-cow*. The greatest difficulty was, that after we had, notwithstanding all obstacles, penetrated through the wood, the Czar had destroyed the country to that degree, that our army would have found neither provisions, forage, nor winter-quarters. And besides all the other reasons which induced the King equally to reject these two routs, there remained another great obstacle to surmount, which was particular to the former rout, namely, that the towns of *Pleskow* and *Novogorod* must have been both taken before we advanced further; and if we had taken the latter, we were indispensably obliged to make ourselves masters of *Smolensko*, which siege might have much delayed our march.

All this engaged the King to propose another expedient, which was to take the rout of *Mobilow* and *Kritzowa*, and thence through the woods of *Severia* to *Starodub*, a small town of this latter province. The Czar, on the recommendation of *Mazeppa*, *Hettman* or General in chief of the Cossacks, had trusted the government of the province and that of the town of *Starodub*, to a Colonel whose name was *Skoropafski*, who had a regiment of some thousand Cossacks; but which, as well as their Colonel, depended on the orders of the *Hettman*. The King was the rather induced to take this road, by the new alliance which he had concluded privately with *Mazeppa*, who having had little reason to be pleased with the Czar, had long ardently wished to shake off his yoke, and throw himself under the protection of the King of *Sweden*, whose great reputation had made a strong

strong impression on him. King *Stanislaus* and the Crown of *Poland* were comprised in this alliance. The articles which *Mazeppa* presented to the King of *Sweden*, to obtain his friendship and protection, were the following.

“ First, That he would engage to receive his *Swedish* Majesty into the province of *Severia*, and to deliver up to him all the fortresses, viz. *Starodub*, *Novogrod* or *Novogorod*, *Serwiersky*, *Blin*, *Bransk* and others, which had formerly belonged to the Great Dutchy of *Lithuania*, and which served at present as frontier fortresses of that Dutchy. This province was now governed in chief by the Great-General *Mazeppa*, who had settled here, by the Czar’s order, Colonel *Skoropatski*, whose regiment, as they say in the *Ukrain*, depended on *Mazeppa*.

“ Secondly, That his Majesty might take up his winter-quarters in this province, till *Mazeppa* had drawn together all the army of the Cossacks, and brought the Cossacks of *Bialogrod* into the alliance, with those likewise of the river *Don*, who were all dissatisfied with the tyrannical government of the *Russians*; for the Czar was by little and little stripping them of all their privileges.

“ Thirdly, That *Mazeppa* should endeavour to bring the *Chan* of the *Calmuks*, named *Ajuka*, into the same design.

“ Fourthly, That as soon as *Mazeppa* had acquitted himself of what was contained in these three articles, his Majesty would put himself in motion, and march directly to *Moscow*, whilst *Mazeppa* on

“ All the country between *Moscow*, is very flat and extremely fruitful. The fields are

1708.

“ on his side should join him with all his troops,
 “ and those of the Cossacks of *Bialogorod* and
 “ *Don*, with the Malecontent Calmucks. That
 “ as to what concerned the subsistence of the
 “ *Swedish* army, *Mazeppa* obliged himself to
 “ draw provisions from the *Ukrain*, and the
 “ provinces of *Bialogorod*, which are some of
 “ the most fertile in the whole world. That
 “ by taking of these measures, they would
 “ oblige the Czar to retreat northward of the
 “ town of *Moscow*, and the river *Volga*, where
 “ the country is not near so fruitful as that on
 “ the south, and in no wise sufficient to subsist
 “ an army so large as his : this together with
 “ the fears of the *Russians* that they might be
 “ obliged to make head against us in the open
 “ field, though they were three times our su-
 “ periors in number, would put the *Swedish*
 “ army in a condition to give laws every where,
 “ whilst the Czar must be infallibly lost, and his
 “ army wanting subsistence, and a great part of it
 “ discontented, would be obliged, according to
 “ all appearances, to disband themselves, or sub-
 “ mit to the conqueror.”

Whilst these well-concerted projects gave,
 humanly speaking, all imaginable hopes of suc-
 cess, King *Stanislaus*, having with him a body
 of the *Swedish* army, commanded by Major-
 General *Craffau*, neglected nothing on his part
 to gain over the rest of the *Poles*, who under the
 title

are covered with corn for
 men, and excellent pasture
 for horses. The grass grows
 here in such abundance that
 they cannot mow it all at
 once, and is at the same time
 so high, that it reaches to
 the horses bellies; so that it

was impossible for the Czar
 entirely to destroy this fine
 country on this rout, where
 we were certain of always
 finding something to subsist
 the *Swedish* army, as well
 horse as foot.

title of confederates, stood out yet against him in divers provinces. It was resolved that as

1708:

soon as that King should have reduced these malecontents to a submission, orders should be given to the *Polish* troops, to enter *Russia* by two different ways, that the Crown army should penetrate on the side of *Kiow*, and that of *Lithuania* should attack *Smolensko*. Lastly, we flattered ourselves, that Major-General *Lybecker's* invasion of *Ingria* at the head of 12000 men, would complete the Czar's distress, and demolish him without any resource, that General being to make himself master of that province, to burn *Petersbourg*, and afterwards invade the provinces of *Novogorod* and *Pleskow*, that his army might in case of necessity be reinforced by detachments drawn from the garrisons of *Riga* and *Revel*; which would have been very easy without exposing these, if *Lybecker* had had more prudence and good fortune in his expedition.

The alliance concluded between *Mazeppa* and the *Poles* was founded on the following articles.

" First, That *Mazeppa* should punctually
" execute all that hath been mentioned above,
" and to which he was bound; namely, to deliver the province of *Severia* to the King of
" *Sweden*, with all its fortresses, &c.

" Secondly, That he should promise to be
" ready to march with the whole army of Cossacks, on the King's first orders.

" Thirdly, That he should attempt to bring
" the Cossacks of *Bialogrod*, as well as those of
" *Don*, with *Ajuka*, Chan of the Calmucks,
" into the same alliance.

" Fourthly, That he should restore all the
" *Ukrain* to the *Poles*, which together with
" *Severia*, and the provinces of *Kiow*, *Zscher-*

" *nikow*

1708. “ *nikow* and *Smolensko*, were to return under
 “ the *Polish* government. As a recompence
 “ for which, they promised *Mazeppa* the title
 “ of Prince, with the same conditions under
 “ which the Duke of *Courland* possessed his
 “ country, with the palatinates of *Witepsky* and
 “ *Poleffko*.

“ A day was then appointed, before which
 “ *Mazeppa* was to impart all these conditions
 “ to his Colonels, and to engage them to a
 “ voluntary consent, by representing to them
 “ the undoubted advantages which they would
 “ receive by recovering their former liberty,
 “ of which the *Russians* had only left them the
 “ shadow.”

Such were the conditions of this treaty, which
 was conducted so artfully, and kept so secret,
 that no one had the least knowledge of it, ex-
 cept the King of *Sweden*, King *Stanislaus*, *Ma-*
zeppa, Count *Piper*, a certain *Polish* Senator
 whose name I have forgot, and the Arch-bishop
 of *Servia* or *Bulgaria*, who was banished his
 country for what reason I know not. This last
 conducted the whole affair, and went continually
 during the negotiation between the *Swedish* army
 and that of *Mazeppa*, being the less liable to
 suspicion, as he was a *Greek* by his religion and
 banished, moreover drest in the habit of a Men-
 dicant, begging charity from town to town.

All these projects were so well concerted, and
 so dexterously conducted, that every reasonable
 man who had examined them, must have fore-
 told, humanly speaking, a successful issue for
Sweden; and that the Czar, must before the
 end of the year have been necessitated to accept
 such conditions of peace as the King of *Sweden*
 would have imposed on him.

But

But as the ways of the Almighty are unknown to us, he often permits the wisest and most prudent counsels to be confounded, and produce a quite different issue from what we flatter ourselves with, as indeed it fell out in the event of this march to the *Ukrain*, which was in the end fatal to *Sweden*.

When *Charles XII.* undertook this expedition, he had an army of about twenty regiments under his command; *Sweden* never saw so considerable a force, nor, as I imagine, could that force have been conducted with more prudence, good counsel and wisdom, than it was in the closet of *Charles XII.* at the beginning of this negotiation, and of the year 1708. Never kingdom had at the head of her armies, a more brave and active Prince, or indeed a better soldier than *Charles XII.* and never King had a more warlike army, troops better disciplined or more faithful, than those were at that time. Notwithstanding which we miscarried, and it seemed as if Heaven was at once willing to humble *Sweden*, and punish it by the fatal campaign in 1709, and at the same time to raise *Charles XII.* above all the Monarchs and all the Heroes which had preceded him^a, by giving him an opportunity of demonstrating in the face of the whole earth, that admirable constancy and firmness of temper, which shone forth in his adversity, and set off those other infinite great qualities which this Prince possessed.^c

It

^a See the *Polybius* of the Chevalier *Follard*, Vol. V. Ed. *Amsterdam* 1729. p. 132. in which a comparison is made between *Charles XII.* and *Alexander the Great*.
^c *Follard*, *ibid.* p. 406. where mention is made of *Charles the Bold*, Duke of *Burgundy*, &c.

1708.

It is surprizing to reflect on the occurrences of those times. In reality, we had scarce left *Saxony*, when all the elements declar'd against us. During the summer in 1708, it rained continually, and in the beginning of 1709 we had a winter so severe and extraordinary, that the memory of man had known nothing like it. Add to all this, that the *Swedish* Generals; who commanded separate bodies of the army, committed divers mistakes, and were almost unsuccessful every where, by which the main body of the army which his Majesty commanded in chief suffered very much. Nevertheless, his Majesty never appeared greater, or more magnanimous than at this time. He saw his army mouldering every day by fatigue and continual labour, by skirmishes and battles, tho' they always got the better; and notwithstanding that hunger, misery and cold, destroyed them daily in great numbers, it was impossible for him to recruit them, by reason of his distance from *Sweden*. In contempt of all these misfortunes, his Majesty continued to push the enemy, who was at least four times as strong, obliging them to secure themselves behind rivers and morasses, or to entrench themselves up to their teeth; whilst our own troops, amounting in the whole to no more than twenty thousand men, including the sick and wounded, were divided into several little bodies for their better subsistence, and never permitted to entrench themselves.

In 1708, when Charles XII. quitted his 1708.
winter-quarters to take the field, his army
was composed of the following regiments.

The Drabans,
The Horse-Guards,
The Regiment of the
Nobility,

The Ostrogoths,
The Regiment of Ny-
land,

The Regiment of Smo- } Horse.
land,

The Regiment of
North-Scania,

The Regiment of
South-Scania,

The Tremannings of
Gruse,

His Swe-
dish Maje-
sty's army.

The Dragoon-Guards,

Buchwald's,

The Prince of Wur-
temberg's,

Meyerfeld's,

Duker's,

Taub's,

Hielm's,

Gyllenstyerna's,

Albedybl's,

} Dragoons.

The Regiment of Guards

— Of Upland,

— Of Westmanland,

— Of Sudermanland,

— Of Dalcarlia,

— Of Westerbothn,

} Foot.

His

Appendix to the HISTORY of

His Swedish Majesty's army.	The Regiment of Guards	
	—	Of Wermland,
	—	Of Scataborg,
	—	Of Ostrogothia,
	—	Of Calmar,
	—	Of Croneberg,
	—	Of Jonkioping.
	Foot.	

Besides these regiments, his Majesty had likewise a suitable train of artillery, with a part of the regiment of artillery, some hundreds of Einspanners, who always guarded the King's baggage and that of the Chancery, with some companies of Valoches, with Mr. Kanifer, Aid de Camp General, and Colonel Sandul, at their head.

His Majesty had left in Poland to support King Stanislaus, Major-General Crassau, at the head of the following regiments.

Crassau's army.	Crassau's,	
	Muller's,	
	Marschall's	
	Zulich's,	
	Dragoons.	

The Regiment of Horn,	
or of Stetin,	
Eckeblad's Regiment	
at Elbing,	
Foot.	

In Pomerania and the Dutchy of Bremen, there were the following regiments, several of which had orders to join Crassau, in case of necessity.

In

The Regiment of *Pomerania* commanded by *Wolfrath*.

—Of *Bremen* by *Horn*.

All four
Horse.

The two Regiments of the Nobility of *Pomerania* and *Bremen*.

The second Regiment of *Stetin*, commanded by *Stuart*.

The Regiment of *Stralsund*, by *Schultz*.

—Of *Wismar*, by *Ridderhielm*.

The Regiment of *Palmquist*.

Foot.

—Of *Breitholtz*, foreigners.

One battalion in the Dutchy of *Deux-Ponts*.

At *Stade*, the Battalions of *Gyllenstierna* and of *Welling*.

In *Pomerania*,
Bremen,
and *Deux-Ponts*.

His *Swedish* Majesty had given orders to the following regiments to remain in *Sweden*.

The *Westgoths*,
That of Count *Aschenberg*,

The *Tremannings* of
Count *Leyenbuswud*,

—Of *Gyllenstierna*,
The *Femmannings* of
Hierta.

Dragoons.

In *Sweden*.

In Sweden.	The Regiment of <i>Babus.</i> <i>Ramswerd's</i> , afterwards <i>Cruse's.</i> Two hundred dra- goons in <i>Femptland.</i>	} Dragoons,
	Two hundred foot, of the Regiment of Guards, under <i>Ha-</i> <i>milton</i> , in garison at <i>Stockholm.</i>	} Foot,
	The Regiment of <i>Von-</i> <i>der-Notb.</i>	
	—of <i>Femptland.</i>	
	—of <i>Biorroborg -</i> <i>Lebn.</i>	
	One Batalion of <i>Worm-</i> <i>land.</i>	
	The Regiment of <i>West-</i> <i>giotadabl.</i>	
	—of <i>Elfsbourg.</i>	
	—of <i>Gothebourg</i> , com- manded by <i>Kobler.</i>	
	—of <i>Zinclair.</i>	
	—of <i>Malmo.</i>	
	The Blue-Guards, or the Regiment of <i>Landsrona.</i>	

Some time before the King opened his campaign in 1708, he ordered Major-General *Lybecker* to pass the *Niewa*, and penetrate into *Ingria* with his army at a certain fixed time. His army was composed of the following regiments,

Army

Tisenhausen.
Abolebns-Fordubbling[†].
Niland's.
Wiborg's.

} Horse.

Hartfebr. } Dragoons.

The Regiment of *Tavasthus*, commanded by *Hartfebr.*

One Battalion of the Regiment of *Narva* in the Garison at *Kexholm.*

Osterbottn - Fordubbling.

Biorneborg's.

Abolebn's.

Nyland's.

Tavasthus.

Wiborg-Lebn's.

Savolax. This last } Foot.

Regiment was composed of *Saxon* prisoners, which King *Augustus* had left with the King of *Sweden* at the Peace of *Alt-Ranstadt.*

They were commanded in chief by *Mr. Schommer.* The other principal Officers were *Stralborn, Boye, Zeulenberg, &c.*

Army of
Finland.

[†] *Fordubbling* was a second Regiment, furnished by the same Province.

1708.

As to the passage of the *Niewa* by *Lybecker*, as I was not present at it I shall pass it by. For the same reason I shall not mention the useless and fatal expedition that general made into *Ingria*: I call it fatal, not so much on account of his loss, which was only of his horses, which were killed very unnecessarily to hasten a retreat, in which the enemy made some hundred prisoners; but I call it chiefly fatal, because the *Russians* after the retreat had the liberty to withdraw their troops out of *Ingria*, and to reinforce the army which they brought against Count *Lowenbaupt*, which by this means became so much his superiour, that they attacked the Count with advantage and success at the bloody battle of *Liesna*. In effect, *Lowenbaupt's* loss on this occasion drew after it the defeat of our army, and brought our Kingdom to the brink of destruction, as we shall afterwards see.

But, before we go farther, I shall here put down the list of those regiments which composed *Lowenbaupt's* army; and I shall afterwards mention the orders that the King sent him on the rout, which he was to hold with his troops in order to join his Majesty.

Lowen- baupt's army.	{	The Regiment of the Nobility at <i>Riga</i> .	} Horse.
		—of <i>Abolehn</i> .	
		—of <i>Carelia</i> .	
	{	The <i>Finland</i> Dragoons of <i>Jogen</i> .	} Dragoons.
		The Regiment of <i>Wennerstedt</i> .	

Lowen-

1708.

{ The Regiment of
Schlippenbach.
—of Schreiterfeld.
The Squadron of Skog. } Dragoons.

{ The Regiment of Hel-
singland.
—of Count Lowen-
haupt.
—of Banner.

Lowen-
haupt's
army.

{ The Battalion of Ber-
gou of Stal.

{ —of Biorneborg, com-
manded by Major-
General Stakelberg.

Foot.

{ A Battalion of Abo-
lehn, by the Count
de la Gardie.

{ One Battalion of Oster-
bohn.

{ One Battalion of Ny-
land.

The following troops were left in *Livonia*.

{ The Regiment of the
Nobility of *Esthonia*. } Horse.

Broms.

} Dragoons.

The *Livo-
nian* army.

{ 1 Battalion
of Mellyn.

{ —of Lo-
wen.

At Revel.

{ —Two of
Wyke.

{ —One of
Palen.

Foot.

The Livo- nian army.	At Pernau.	The Batta- lion of <i>Schengel.</i> — of <i>Carl</i> <i>Adam</i> of <i>Stakel-</i> <i>berg.</i>	Foot.
	At Riga and Du- namund.	<i>Clott.</i> <i>Hillebord.</i> The Batta- lion of <i>Wiborg.</i> — of <i>Sa-</i> <i>volax.</i> — of <i>Of-</i> <i>terbohn.</i> — of <i>Nie-</i> <i>roth.</i> <i>Mengden.</i> <i>Becker.</i> The Batta- lion of <i>O-</i> <i>sel</i> , com- manded by Lieu- tenant- Colonel <i>Sass.</i>	Foot.

This was the formidable force of Sweden in 1708. When his Majesty had appointed *Mazzeppa* a day to acquaint his Colonels with his alliance with Sweden and Poland; he informed him likewise of the day in which he had resolved to pass the *Dnieper*, or *Boristhenes*, and at the same time sent orders to Count *Lowenhaupt* to put himself in motion at a certain day, and

and bring up his army to join him, with provisions for some months. 1708.

It is not known whether those orders did not lie too long in the Chancery before they were sent, or whether the Courier did not loiter too much on the road, or indeed whether the Count, who was otherwise a very prudent and experienced General, being intirely ignorant of the alliance concluded with the Felt-herr *Mazeppa* did not believe that it was more necessary to amass provisions and other things needful for pushing the war on with success in so desolated a country according to his Majesty's orders, than to hasten his march; which, if he had begun on the day fixed by his Majesty, he could not have compleated his orders relating to the provisions, which he executed with extraordinary care and application. Whatever was the occasion of it, the fatal delay of *Lowenbaupt's* march beyond the day fixed, was the real cause of the misfortunes which afterwards befel the King of Sweden.

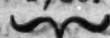
After the King had quitted his winter-quarters, forced the passage of *Bereniža*, and beat the *Russians* at the battle of *Holocožin*, he drew directly to the *Dnieper*, where he expected to be presently joined by the Count de *Lowenbaupt*; but, as the time fixed with *Mazeppa* was expired, and the King continued near the *Dnieper* in continual expectation of *Lowenbaupt's* coming up, *Mazeppa* sent to acquaint his Majesty that he had declared to his Colonels the alliance which he had concluded with a view of shaking off the *Russian* yoke, and begged him not to delay his march, lest some of his Colonels should change their minds, and discover all that had passed to the Czar.

1708.

His Majesty was now reduced to an uncertainty, not knowing what means to follow. On the one hand he saw plainly, that if he waited for *Lowenhaupt*, all that great and fine scheme which he had so carefully concerted with *Mazeppa*, could not produce the hoped for success; and on the other, he felt too sensibly the extreme necessity he was in of this conjunction, without which *Lowenhaupt's* army would be in danger of being lost. At last, he chose rather to expose that army, than to lose the advantages which he hoped to draw from the alliance concluded with the Cossacks; for he was persuaded, that if he neglected so favourable an opportunity as this to weaken the great power of the *Russians*, he should never find such another.

The King believed moreover, that if Count *Lowenhaupt* should be attacked by the *Russians*, he had a sufficient number of troops to repulse them; pretty well knowing of what force the Czar's army was, which was to act against him. As his Majesty was not yet informed of the fruitless expedition of *Lybecker*, he could not foresee the reinforcement which the enemy could now draw from *Ingria*, to render their army so much superiour in number to the Count's.

I shall not stay here to give the particulars of that General's march, of the attack on him by the *Russians*, the glorious defence of his army at the battle of *Liesna*, where six thousand *Swedes* sustained the efforts of thirty thousand *Russians*, a whole day without giving an inch of ground; nor shall I say any thing of the prudent conduct of this General, after the action, in bringing off the rest of the army safe to the

the King; all which is very well set forth in the Memoirs of *Gustavus Adlerfelt*. I shall content myself with following the King's army in the laborious march which they had undertaken towards the *Ukrain*. 

After that Prince had passed the *Dnieper* near *Mobilow*, he made a feint of intending to draw towards *Smolensko*, in order to engage the Czar to draw all his troops on that side, and by that means to give *Mazeppa* room to act with more liberty and success in the provinces of *Severia* and the *Ukrain*, under favour of the *Swedes*. His Majesty still believed that he should at last oblige the enemy to stand their ground by pursuing them without cessation; but all in vain, their first maxim being always to retreat, and burn, and destroy all the places through which we were to follow them.

It is proper to mention, that the country on the other side the *Dnieper* is called the Palatinate of *Mizieslaw*, which belongs to *Poland* and *Lithuania*, and that this Province, if I may be allowed the expression, is all covered with morasses. As the continual rains in 1708, had rendered all the roads almost impassable, even those which were at other times the best, it may be imagined what the army must suffer in a country so full of morasses as this; especially as the Czar made his advantage of them, retreating always through them, passing from one to another to cover his retreat, burning all the towns and villages, and intirely destroying the whole country.

Notwithstanding all these obstacles the King pursued the Czar so briskly, that no day passed without some battle or skirmish between the two armies, as may be seen in the history of this

1708. this Prince; but as his Majesty found himself under a necessity of instantly joining *Mazeppa*, after having followed the enemy for some time beyond *Mobilow* on the side of *Smolensko*, he made a counter-march, and passing the river of *Sossa* near the town of *Krizowa*, the army entered the great woods of *Severia* which lie between *Krizowa* and the town of *Starodub*.

It is impossible to express what the army suffered on this rout, and posterity will have a difficulty to believe it. Most of the regiments had consumed the bread which they had taken with them from their winter-quarters, and as soon as the King had passed the *Boristhenes* they had no opportunity to get any more, all that country having been entirely sacked and destroyed. All that they had to sustain life was some cattle which we had carried with us when we took the field; but these poor animals for want of pasture, and by the terrible marches which they had made, were so lean and weak that they were with difficulty kept alive. The flesh however of these cattle distributed with great oeconomy without bread and without salt prevented the army from dying with hunger on this dreadful rout, where the troops were almost always in the water passing over those long morasses, and where their misery was increased by not finding tolerable water to quench their thirst.

Before his Majesty began his rout on that side, he had ordered Major-General *Lagercrona* to go before with some thousand men, and to make himself master of the Fortresses of *Severia*, which are *Starodub*, *Blin*, *Novogrod*, *Sewierski*, &c. which, according to the convention

tion with *Mazeppa*, were to be delivered to the King's troops by Colonel *Skoropatski* as soon as they appeared before them; but unhappily *Lagercrona* suffered himself to be misled by a traitor, who conducted him out of his way cross the great wood; so that he did not enter into *Severia* till some days beyond the time appointed, and two days only before his Majesty entered it himself with the rest of the army. 1708.

This delay was a misfortune so much the more fatal to our arms, that *Skoropatski*, who otherwise, as I very well knew, was perfectly a good *Swede* in his heart, and was so to his death, having heard in the mean time of the battle with Count *Lowenhaupt*, entirely changed his mind; not only on considering as he did the consequences which he presently foresaw from the battle of *Liesna*, but also weighing the accounts which he had received of the unhappy expedition of *Lybecker*, and principally relying on what he positively knew of the miserable condition of his Majesty's army, which being destitute of every thing, visibly mouldered away by hunger, fatigue, and long marches which they were obliged every day to make. On all these reasons apprehending that the *Swedish* affairs were in an ill situation, and not being willing to expose himself to the Czar's vengeance, of which he stood in fear, he thought the surest and most advantageous step which he could take would be to discover to the Czar the alliance which *Mazeppa* and his Colonels had entered into with *Sweden*; fearing, no doubt, lest some other should prevent him, and then he should have no favour to expect at the Czar's hands. He therefore acquainted him with all that

1708. that had been done to his prejudice; and having at the same time ordered all the gates of *Starodub* and the other towns to be shut; which according to the convention were to be delivered to Major-General *Lagercrona*; he admitted the *Russian* troops into all these places, which Major-General *Island* brought thither with all expedition.

The King now entred into *Severia*, and saw himself outstripped by the enemy, which gave him the greater uneasiness as his army were absolutely like to want subsistence, the Peasants and other inhabitants being retired into the towns with all their cattle, and the country left a perfect desert. Nor was it possible for his Majesty to return by the way he came, not being strong enough for that, tho' his army was reinforced by the remains of that of *Lowenbaupt*. On the other hand, his design of marching from *Severia* directly to *Moscow* could not be executed, it being too dangerous to leave so many fortresses of this province in possession of the enemy behind him. No other resource then remained, but to march into the *Ukrain*.

If *Mazeppa* had at that time had more steadiness, the King's march would have perhaps been more successful. But he now began to waver, at first believing that he might regain the Czar's favour, and therefore left the King of *Sweden* some time in *Severia*, without appearing resolved to admit him into the *Ukrain*; whilst the Czar, who was irritated at this Hettman, sent a part of his army with great expedition into the *Ukrain*, to surprize *Mazeppa* at *Baturin*, the place of his residence. He happily

pily escaped the misfortune of being taken, but 1708. could not avoid the entire ruin of that town, which was carried by storm, plundered and burnt. This loss was the more considerable, as there was in that place a great magazine of all sorts of ammunition, of powder, cannons, as well of brass, as iron; but above all a great quantity of provisions, which, in this country, as well as in *Russia*, are very scarce and dear.

This was extremely regretted, as we may easily believe, by an army half-starved like ours; and *Mazeppa* had sufficient reason to repent of his delays: but the greatest loss in reality was the destruction of the magazine of powder, lead, cannon and musket-balls, which was carried off and destroyed by the enemy at the sacking of *Baturin*. The great necessity we had of this, is easily to be imagined; for what goodness could be in our powder which we had brought with us from *Saxony*, and had been often wet and dried again; on which account only it is astonishing that we gained so many battles, tho' to say the truth, our troops used their swords more than their fire-arms.

Mazeppa, after the ruin of *Baturin*, at last retired to the King's army, bringing with him some thousand Cossacks, which were all that he could bring over to his party, and threw himself, tho' a little too late, into his Majesty's protection. The King now resolved to pass the *Desna*, and advance into the *Ukrain*. I will not enter here into a particular account of that passage, or the defeat of the *Russians*, who endeavoured to oppose it; I will only say it was an action worthy of great admiration, as may
be

1708. be seen in the Memoirs of *Gustavus Adolphus*.

When the King had entered the *Ukrain* with his army, he presently put them into winter-quarters, and took up his own at *Romné*, a little town. We were scarce distributed amongst the cities and towns of this delicious country, but the army forgot all they had suffered by hunger, thirst, and all kind of misery, in a march of six months, or thereabouts. We found in abundance all sorts of provisions, as bread, beer, strong-waters, wines of *Crimea* and *Wallachia*, mead, honey in great quantities, cattle, with forage, both hay and corn for horses and beasts of burthen.

Our troops refreshed themselves considerably in the short interval of their winter-quarters; so that the sick, the wounded, and those who were half starved and worn out with fatigue, became visibly restored, and the horses regained their strength and vigour.

We did not long enjoy these advantages. Some days before *Christmas* 1708, so rigorous and hard a frost began, that the memory of man

* See *Follard's Comments* on *Polyb.* Tom. 4. pag. 51. *Amsterdam Edit.* *Charles XII.* King of *Sweden*, one of the greatest Captains of our age, was beyond expression excellent in passing rivers. He never passed, but on floats; which were made with such art, that the soldiers were ranged in order of battle thereon, ten deep, and even with cannon. These floats were composed of several

beds of Timber laid longways, and likewise across very close together, and well fastened to each other. That which he made in 1718, to pass the Lake of *Swin-Sund* at *Frederick-hall*, may pass for the most perfect; the planks were squared on four or five beds and surrounded with a border; two twenty-four pounders and five hundred men were thereon.

man could produce nothing equal to it; and 1708.
 this was the more insupportable, as in the *Ukrain*
 the country is all flat, and the plains so very
 even, that the whole resembles a vast sea.

The Czar, who always waited on us, took the opportunity of this dreadful winter to harass and disquiet us without ceasing. He often said, he would venture ten *Russians* for one *Swede*, as the war was in his own country, where he could always find what recruits he wanted, an advantage which the King of *Sweden* had not. He put himself therefore in motion in the very severest part of the winter, making a shew of attacking those regiments which were the farthest posted from the headquarters. This engaged the King to give orders to the whole army to hold themselves in readiness to march to their assistance.

This terrible march, which cannot be equalled in history, was undertaken in *Christmas* holidays, when the winter raged with the greatest rigour and severity. The *Swedes* loss was very considerable, but the *Russians* by their own confession lost three times as many. Many died of cold, but a greater number lost the use of their limbs, as feet, hands, arms, &c. several of which were obliged to be cut off.

The King however did not content himself with having repulsed the *Russians*, but pushed and attacked them in their own quarters, and had, amongst others, a very sharp engagement with them at a place called *Krasnakut*, where the *Russians* were beaten and pursued close at their heels for some leagues together. His Majesty afterwards made himself master of a little town called *Wieprick*, where the garrison after three assaults surrendered at discretion. All these

1709. these actions being known, I shall not stop to give a particular account of them, nor of the small fights, rencounters and skirmishes which we had almost every day with the enemy, with whom we were continually engaged, notwithstanding the excessive rigour of the winter; so that doubtless there never was a more severe and dreadful campaign than this. I shall only observe, that in all these fights, notwithstanding the ordinary superiority of the enemy, we had almost continually the advantage, and put them to flight; the King being always present in person, or hastening immediately to the place of action, unless it happened in a quarter too distant from his Majesty.

At the approach of the spring the King assembled his army between the rivers of *Poll* and *Worskla*, both which empty themselves into the *Dnieper* or *Boristhenes*. At the same time he invested *Pultowa* with a party of his foot, whilst the horse were ordered to encamp several regiments together for the conveniency of forage at some leagues distance from *Pultowa*. It was the King's maxim rarely to encamp his army together. The *Russians* on the contrary, tho' five times stronger than we were, had never the courage to divide their camps; but held themselves always together, forming but one body of an army, and taking care to be well entrenched.

The reason which induced his Majesty to encamp his troops commonly in several small bodies, at a little distance from each other, was to keep his camps clean and free from contagious distempers, which generally attend armies that are long shut up in one camp. And to preserve all these different bodies, who were defended

ended by no entrenchment from the insults of the enemy, he held them always in play, by sometimes greater, sometimes less violent attacks, never giving them time to recollect themselves, but keeping them in continual apprehension of new efforts on our part. This maxim was of such admirable use in this war, that though we often suffered some losses in the frequent battles which were fought, the amount came not near to those of the enemy, who were obliged to keep themselves continually on their guard, and being shut up as hath been said in the same camp, suffered extremely by distempers and stench, by which they actually lost great numbers.

When the King invested *Pultowa*, he might have instantly made himself master of this ill-fortified place, but this was not his Majesty's intention: for he could have drawn very little advantage from the possession of it, if it had been delivered up to him. His true design in besieging this town, was only to amuse the enemy, and to conceal from them the weakness of his own army: for as it was impossible for him to penetrate further into *Russia* with so small a force, so neither would he return back. He waited therefore before this place for the succours which King *Stanislaus* was to bring him at the head of the crown army, and for Major-General *Crassau*, with the body of the army under his command; he flattered himself so much the more with the speedy arrival of these reinforcements, because he had heard no news of them for some months, and therefore believed them on their march; but he afterwards found himself very much deceived in his guess. Those however who have any knowledge of the affairs of *Poland*, will

1709. not condemn the King for having had some reliance on those succours: for as *Poland* from the time he quitted it was delivered from the *Russians*, he imagined King *Stanislaus* had had sufficient leisure to reduce the confederates, and re-unite them to his party. They are not, perhaps, absolutely in the wrong, who throw all the blame on General *Craffau*, who by his stubborn conduct continually opposed King *Stanislaus*, the Palatine of *Kiovia*, and all the *Polish* nation, and who by that means rendered all the good instructions of *Stanislaus* useless: for my part, I submit the decision of these matters to the judgment of every impartial man, who knows but ever so little of the affairs of those times.

Instead of an army which we expected would come to our assistance, Secretary *Klinkostrom* arrived with Colonel *Sandul*, some weeks before the fatal battle. The former brought dispatches to the King on the part of *Craffau*, with an account that King *Stanislaus*, and that General, were both in the higher *Poland*, with a mutual misunderstanding between them. *Sandul*, whom the King had sent into *Walachia*, returned with an assurance of the little hopes which we had to expect any thing from the *Turks*, who expressed no inclination to break with the Czar in our favour. In this extremity, his Majesty had no other resource than to give battle to the *Russians*: for if he had the happiness to succeed, he might then with glory and safety take the rout to *Kiovia*, pass the *Boristhenes* in the neighbourhood, and cross a fruitful country, proper for the refreshment of his troops, and thence might pass towards *Volbinia* into the heart of *Poland*; on the other hand, if he should

be so unfortunate to fail, he should however lose no more than he certainly must in his retreat from the *Ukrain*, without fighting with the enemy, who would then with forces so superiour to ours, fall continually upon us, harrafs us, and oblige us to make a retreating fight with disadvantage. Moreover, if the King would have retreated without giving the enemy battle, he could not have taken his rout through *Kiovia*; but he would have been forced to have past the shortest way over the *Boristhenes* at *Perevoloczno*, at the same place where his Majesty passed after the defeat at *Pultowa*. This would have had all the air of a shameful flight, and have entirely discouraged his army, which would have been then obliged to throw themselves into the Desert, and make their retreat by the same rout, through which his Majesty afterwards saved himself on the side of *Walachia*. Add to all these inconveniencies, those which the army must have suffered in that dreadful Desert, where for want of subsistence, they would likely have disbanded themselves, especially when they had an enemy at their heels, whose courage would be considerably elevated by a retreat so nearly resembling a general rout. The safest way therefore was to prepare for the battle, and to draw the enemy to it, whatever price it cost.

His Majesty carried the siege on slowly, the better to husband his troops, and continued his approaches on the side of the river *Worskla*. I have above remarked, that if his Majesty had been desirous of being presently master of the place, he might easily have accomplished it, and he would then have opened his trenches on the other side. As to the enemy, they were

1709.

posted with all their army opposite to the river, and continually endeavoured to pass over troops, and throw them into *Pultowa*, but were always beaten and repulsed, unless when Brigadier *Galowin*, the brother-in-law to *Menzikof*, had the happiness to enter there by a stratagem; but he was made prisoner some days afterwards in a sally which he commanded.

The Czar now sent *Renn* with seven thousand dragoons, to encamp at a little distance from the main body of the army; to surprize whom the King detached Major-General *Cruus* with his regiment of horse, that of *South-Scania*, part of the *Ostrogots* and *Gyllenstierna's* dragoons, to which some thousands of Cossack foot called *Zaporovians* were joined, commanded by their General, *Kossoby*.

This expedition might have succeeded very happily, had it not failed through the fault of General *Cruus* himself, who marched too slowly in the night, that he might not separate himself from the Cossack foot; nay, he might have retrieved this, for he came up with *Renn's* camp by break of day, when there was at the same time so thick a mist, that one could not see at twenty paces distance, without mentioning that *Renn* had sent away a great many of his dragoons for forage: but instead of attacking them, and pushing the foragers home to their camp, when he might have entred with them, and have defeated this whole body of seven thousand dragoons who expected no attack, and were all sunk in sleep, he threw away his time in drawing up his horse on one line, by which means, he gave time to the *Russians* to mount their horses, and come out of their camp, marching in different columns, who falling with fury on this single

line

line of *Swedes*, easily broke through and rode away, without our being able to follow them. Those *Swedish* squadrons, who were separately engaged with an entire column, were absolutely broke to pieces.

Renn had the good fortune by these means, and by the fault of *Cruus*, to escape a great danger; and if he had had courage enough, when he saw his enemy disconcerted, to pursue this point, he must have entirely defeated this detachment, being double their number; but he attempted nothing of this kind. The ill success of this expedition was a misfortune which we ever afterwards very severely felt, and we were soon sensible of our mistake.

When the *Russians* saw they were in no condition to pass the *Worskla* opposite to *Pultowa*, and to throw in a reinforcement on that side, they decamped in the night, and after making a great many false attacks in the morning at different places, they made a feint of attempting to pass their whole army over the *Worskla*, to the side where our troops were. But before I mention the passage of their army, I shall speak of the detachments which the King had dispersed on the *Worskla*, from *Pultowa* to *Perevoloczno*, a little place where this river empties itself into the *Boristhenes*.

The first was posted a little below *Pultowa*; the second at *Starazanscara*, where Major-General *Meyerfeld* lay encamped with his regiment; the third at a place called *Belitz*, where Lieutenant-Colonel *Thomas Funck* commanded a body of dragoons; and on the *Boristhenes*, at the mouth of the *Worskla*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Wilwerbielm* was stationed with five hundred horse.

1709.

The same day that the *Russians* passed the *Worskla*, they made, as I have said, several sham attacks, but especially at two places; the one above the town where they passed, and the other below it. The King then divided his army into two bodies, and gave the command of the greater to the Velt-Marshal *Rheinschild* who was to oppose the *Russians* in their attempt to pass above the town; and his Majesty putting himself at the head of the other body marched directly up to those that made a shew of intending to pass below *Pultowa*. While his Majesty, who was always indefatigable, was reconnoitring them on horse-back, a miserable Cossack posted on the other side of the river, which at that part is not very large, fired his fusée at him; the bullet penetrated through his boot, and broke the bone of his foot. These poor wretches have long guns by them called *Tourk*, carrying five hundred paces, with which they did us a great deal of mischief, but never more than by this accident, which completed all our misfortunes.

Count *Rheinschild*, finding the enemy had already passed the river, and began to entrench themselves, resolved to attack them instantly, before they had time to fortify themselves better; but having few foot with him, he dismounted his dragoons, and so marched to the enemy, his foot and dismounted dragoons being interlined with the horse. Just as he was on the point of beginning the action, he received the fatal news of the King's wound, which immediately suspended his measures, and obliged him to rejoin the King with all his troops, not knowing what was the true state of his condition. This retreat of the Count's, gave the *Russians* an opportunity

to perfect their works, and aggravated the ill situation of our affairs; for it was this very entrenchment which the King caused to be attack'd on the day of that bloody battle which ensued. 1709.

The enemy's army consisted of eighty thousand regular troops, twenty thousand Cossacks, and as many Calmuks. Ours amounted to no more than twenty thousand men, including the wounded and the sick, of which latter we had a great number who had lost their limbs with the extremity of the cold, and were by that means incapacitated for service.

I have above observed, that when his Majesty left *Saxony*, his army was composed of twenty-eight regiments, none of which had been recruited during two subsequent campaigns, in which they had maintained the sharpest and most terrible war which is perhaps to be read of in history. When Count *Lowenbaupt* joined us, all his foot were distributed amongst our regiments, and as to the three regiments of horse of *Abolohn*, *Carelia*, and of the nobility of *Riga*, with the three regiments of dragoons of *Wennerstedt*, *Schlippenbach*, and *Schreiterfeld*, they remained on their own establishment: so that those six regiments joined to the twenty-eight which came from *Saxony*, brought his Majesty's army in the *Ukrain* to thirty-four regiments.

It may not be amiss here, to enter into a short discussion on this head, in order to confound the malicious relations of our enemies. If we reckon every regiment in general to have been from five hundred to six hundred strong, which is the utmost, it will reduce the whole number to about twenty thousand men. It is indeed true that some regiments of foot, and particu-

1709.

larly the Guards, were rendered perfectly complete by *Lowenbaup's* foot; but on the other hand several regiments, of both horse and foot, did not consist of more than two hundred men, which is very easy to believe, and indeed to prove, when we consider the great numbers of engagements we had had with the enemy, in which, though we were for the most part successful, we must nevertheless have lost a great many men. The distempers caused by fatigues and want of provisions in those terrible marches which we were obliged to make, caused likewise a dreadful havock among our troops, without saying any thing of the winter, which of itself destroyed great numbers.

We may then conclude, according to this calculation, that the whole army could not amount to more than I have said, including the sick, &c. I could, if it was necessary, and if I was not unwilling to dwell on so sorrowful a narrative, compute the strength of each regiment in particular, as they stood a few days before the battle, and that without any fear of mistake, as I was then a Major, and saw every day the lists of the whole army; but I will dismiss this article, with remarking what little truth there is to be given to the reports which our enemies then spread: for if we give ourselves the trouble to look into the Gazettes and Mercuries of those times, and above all the accounts set forth by the *Russians*, which were all full of rodomontadoes, it would be impossible that a single *Swede* could have remained even before the battle of *Pultowa*, though our army had consisted of a hundred thousand men. Whence we must conclude, that we ought absolutely to reject all the stories which the *Muscovites*

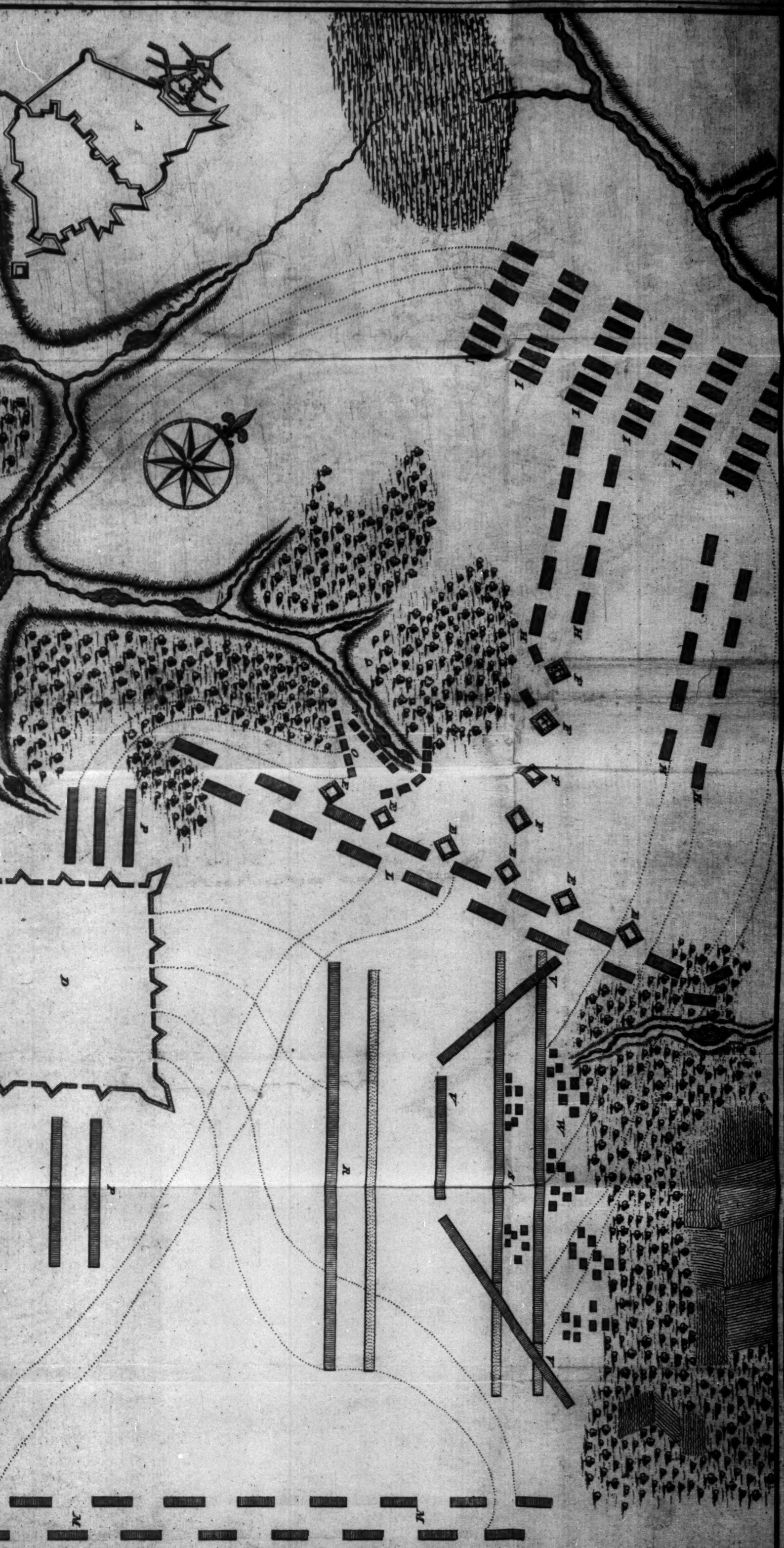
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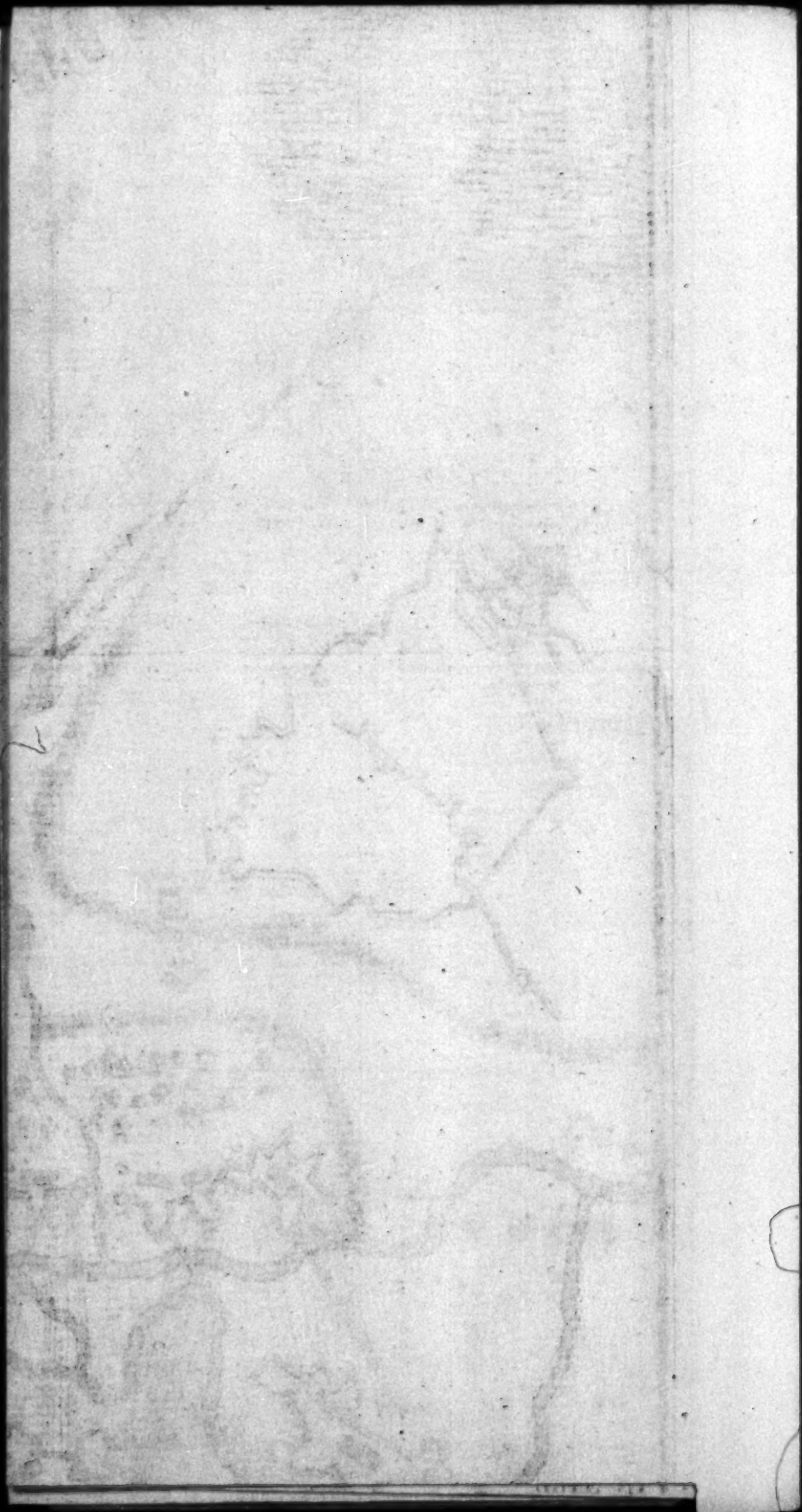
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PLAN of the BATTLE of PUTOWA.

June the 27 O.S. 1709.

- A. The Town of Orlow.
- B. Approaches of the Russians.
- C. The first Subterranean of the Russians after having lost the Works.
- D. The Subterranean of the Russians.
- E. The Russian Redoubts raised at the same time.
- F. One Redoubt of the Russians which they began to raise before the Battle but had not time to finish them.
- G. The Subterranean of the Russians upon the Banks of the Works.
- H. The Subterranean of the Russians in a Column.
- I. The Russian Redoubts taken by the Russians.
- J. The Russian Redoubts raised under the Russians which by the Russians and pursued to the latter.
- K. Where they killed.
- L. The Russian Redoubts and some Squads of Russians are breaking into the Wood from the Mouth of the Redoubts.
- M. The Russians attacking these Redoubts.
- N. Part of the Muscovite Troop joining out through the Bank of their Subterranean.
- O. The Russian Redoubts attacking to open a Communication with the Town.
- P. The Russian Army in Order of Battle.
- Q. The Russians in Order of Battle.
- R. The Line of the Russians which face upon the Russian.
- S. The Right of the Russian.
- T. The Russians advancing towards the Works.





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covites spread abroad to our disadvantage, during the whole war, especially with regard to the circumstances of the battle of *Pultowa*. 1709.

This battle was fought on the twenty-eighth of June, O. S. and which is something remarkable, on the same spot where formerly *Ediga*, one of *Tamerlane's* Generals, had totally routed the army of *Witbsold*, Great Duke of *Lithuania*, Anno 1399ⁿ.

When this battle begun, the *Russians* had not only perfected their grand entrenchment, but had raised a great number of redoubts, at the head thereof; under cover of which, they intended to carry on their approaches home to the besieged town. Between these redoubts, which were well furnished with men, and the entrenchment, the Czar had encamped all his horse, while his foot lay covered behind the lines, which were guarded by a numerous artillery.

As soon as the King saw their design, he drew all his army into one camp near *Pultowa*, having the town on one side, and the *Russian* entrenchment on the other, and a little village called *Sakie*, which hath a better title to give name to this famous battle than *Pultowa*, by which it is commonly called. His Majesty left the detachments which were posted along the *Worskla*, to the *Boristhenes*, in the situation wherein I have above described them.

During the little time that the whole army kept together, the enemy made two attempts with their horse to fall on our camp; but retreated hastily each time behind their redoubts, as soon as they saw our Picket mounted to attack them. Our troops always suffered much in

ⁿ See *Cromer's Chronicle of Poland*, in the Life of *Ulas Jagellon*.

1709. in their foraging, by the *Russians*, who never failed to harraßs them on those occasions, tho' they always drove them back with great vigour behind their redoubts. Eight days before the action, the King being impatient to put an end to these skirmishes by a general and decisive battle, brought all the army out of their camp, and ranged them in a line of battle, making a feint of attacking the enemy; but it was postponed that day, for I know not what reason.

Some have said, that the enemy intended to attack us that day; but finding our army drawn up in such fine order to receive them, they withdrew behind their entrenchments. At last, on the twenty-eighth of *June* O. S. this great battle was fought, which will be always memorable, by the extraordinary inequality between the armies, and which notwithstanding all possible disadvantage on our side, would nevertheless have succeeded happily, if the King had not been wounded, and if some of our Generals had better performed their duty.

His Majesty drew up the army early in bat-talia, amounting at the utmost to no more than ten or twelve thousand men. We left some of our regiments behind to block up *Pultowa*, several others were placed for a guard over the baggage, and some were ordered to remain with *Mazeppa* and the artillery, to preserve them from the insults of the *Cossacks*, *Russians*, and *Calmucks*, who during the action, made two attacks on the baggage and on the cannon, but were repulsed each time with little difficulty or loss on our side.

The battle was now begun, and that with considerable success. We drove the enemy without any great efforts or loss behind their redoubts.

redoubts, which we past in the midst of a violent discharge, both from their small arms and cannon, which latter played incessantly on the spaces between the redoubts. All the *Muscovite* foot which were found there were put to the sword, and their horse were driven in such a manner, and so near absolutely routed, that instead of making a stand near their grand entrenchment, they rode full speed beyond it, and made use of all their endeavours to repass the *Worskla*. 1709.

What a misfortune was it for us, that the King was not now able in person to command on horseback, and to be present every where according to his custom? This battle, which he would infallibly have won, would have been infinitely more glorious for him, than the battle of *Narva*, and all that he had done before; and we should have avoided all the misfortunes, which we have been exposed to since that day.

Our miscarriage was partly owing to General *Roos*, who, through I know not what infatuation, committed one of the grossest errors, by engaging unadvisedly among the redoubts, and then with the most unwarrantable obstinacy attempting to carry them sword-in-hand one after another, instead of passing through the intermediate spaces, as the King had done with his column. *Roos* assaulted these redoubts with great fury, and carried several of them, his foot in reality working miracles; but he effected this with so great a loss that the ground was all covered with dead bodies, and what finished our ruin was, that *Roos* by this blunder was cut off from the rest of the army without any possibility of rejoining it.

In

1709.

In the mean time Major-General *Schlippenbach*, who was with *Roos*, seeing the distressed condition of this column, quitted it in the company of Captain *Palmfeld*, and went to find out the King to acquaint him immediately with what had happened. *Palmfeld* had the happiness to join his Majesty, but *Schlippenbach* fell into the hands of the *Russians*, who having recovered their courage, and seeing the blunder which *Roos* had committed, presently sent a large detachment under the command of Lieutenant-General *Rensel*, which entirely cut off that unfortunate party from the rest of our foot in the following manner.

Roos, who was now too sensible of the enormous error he had made, and not knowing how he might rejoin his Majesty, had detached Captain *Funck* to discover whether those were not the King's troops, which were advancing at a distance, and which were indeed those under *Rensel*, in full march to inclose him. *Funck*, who mistook them for *Swedes* by seeing Mr. *Schlippenbach* amongst them, on which account he drew too near, was taken prisoner by the enemy; so that *Roos* had no answer till *Rensel* fell upon him and surrounded him on all sides.

Whilst this was doing, the King having passed the redoubts, put all the enemy's horse to flight, as we have said, and cut a large body of *Muscovite* foot to pieces. His Majesty then made all his army halt on the plain which was between the enemy's grand entrenchment and the redoubts, and drew up again in order of battle. At the same time to compleat the affair, the King thinking *Roos* was ready to join him, made a party of his horse and dragoons dis-

mount

mount to attack the entrenchment, till *Roos's* 1709. column, which he impatiently expected, was come up. Whilst his Majesty was making the disposition for this attack, he perceived *Rensel's* body of foot at a distance, and not doubting but that it was *Roos's* party, he detached Adjutant-General *Gyllenklo* to *Mazeppa*, to press him to bring up the troops which he had with him, together with the artillery, to assist in and support the attack of the entrenchment.

This had been the King's resolution on the morning before the battle began, for he feared that if he had then stayed to bring up the ordnance he should have lost too much time, and delayed the execution of his design of passing hastily through the redoubts. But when *Gyllenklo*, as he drew nearer to *Rensel's* body, perceived they were not *Swedes*, he returned hastily to inform his Majesty, who was much astonished, and more shocked soon after at hearing that *Roos* was taken prisoner, most of his men dispersed, and all the prisoners killed with horrible inhumanity.

It was now that this great Prince, who was always intrepid, without discovering the least emotion, in spite of his wound and the situation to which he saw his affairs reduced, gave immediate orders to begin the attack of the entrenchment with those few foot which remained with him, whilst the horse and dragoons remounted to support this handful of men.

Before we continue the almost incredible account of this famous battle, it will not be improper to make a few remarks.

1709.

Count *Rheinschild*, who, notwithstanding the censures of his enemies, was certainly a great General, had propos'd to the King as soon as he had pass'd the redoubts, to wait in good order till *Mazeppa* came up with his troops, the artillery and baggage, to push with more safety and success an enemy half defeated and almost routed, but yet powerful and so much the more formidable as he yet retained several advantages over us.

The opinion of Count *Piper* was unfortunately preferred at this season to the sage advice of so experienced a General. He told the King, *That he must strike the iron whilst it was hot, and not give the enemy time for consideration.* The misunderstanding between this first Minister and Count *Rheinschild*, which had subsisted ever since the battle of *Franstadt*, which the latter had gained in 1706, was a great misfortune to *Sweden*, for it was the occasion of rejecting all the wise advice which he had given. But let us draw the curtain over such disagreeable scenes; and return to the rehearsal of this unhappy battle; which hath cost *Sweden* so many tears, and for which almost every family there wore mourning.

During the whole time that the horse and dragoons were employed in dismounting by the King's command, in expectation of being joined by *Roos*, the *Russians* made a dreadful discharge from 120 pieces of ordnance, most of them of the largest size, with which their entrenchments were guarded, but without doing us much mischief. As soon as his Majesty had given orders for the attack of their entrenchment, we saw all their foot advance out of their lines to oppose our design. Our foot being

being then put in motion, marched bravely up to the enemy, under the command of Count *Lowenbaupt*, with orders to begin the attack and to penetrate into the entrenchment, whilst the horse, which marched in the wing, fell on the enemy's foot with design of putting them into confusion. Our foot were so few, that the line which they formed made no appearance when compared to the enemy's. They nevertheless attacked with such fierceness, vigour and resolution, that at the first shock they staggered the enemy's line, and the regiment of guards possessed themselves of the cannon which was planted against them. But most of the other regiments were less successful, some of them especially suffered greatly by the enemy's artillery, particularly the regiment of *Calmar*, which was almost half destroyed by a single discharge; and at the same time lost their Colonel *Ranck*, who was killed on the spot. The same happened to that of *Upland*, which at the first shock lost their Colonel *Stierbok*, their Lieutenant-Colonel *Post*, and their Major *Anrep*.

All this might have been yet remedied, if the King had not been wounded; but as he lay on his litter, with his sword in his hand, and it being impossible to convey him quick enough from one place to another to distribute his orders, there was in reality no true command on that day in the army, and confusion at last beginning to arise, every one would act according to his caprice.

If all our squadrons had done their duty as well as the gallant Count *Torsten*son did at the head of his, I make no doubt but we had yet gained the battle. He attacked the *Russian* foot with such fury at the head of his own company

1709.

company of *Nyland*, that he was on the point of penetrating into the enemy's entrenchment; but not being seconded, as he ought to have been, he was killed with his whole party, after they had performed miracles of bravery.

Colonel *Hielm* likewise broke through the enemy's foot¹; but the rest did not follow so fine an example. In short, that wonderful activity which had appeared in our troops when the King himself led them before he was wounded, and when he used to fly to all quarters to animate them, was not observable on this day. In a word, his wound was the source of all our misfortunes, and the real cause of the loss of this bloody battle.

The enemy continued, during the whole action, to make a dreadful fire from their cannon, One of which having broken and overturned the King's litter, his Majesty wounded as he was, was forced to mount his horse, with his leg swathed in bandage, and without his boots. His Majesty now seeing the impossibility of gaining the entrenchment, gave orders to the troops to retreat, and march towards the place where the baggage was. Some say, that the King's horse was at this time killed under him, and he was obliged to mount another.

Velt-Marshal *Rheinschild* and the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, were now taken prisoners. Count *Piper* endeavoured to reach the regiments which had

¹ The brave Prince of *Wurtemberg* perform'd wonders at this fatal battle, which caused the King to say, That if all his regiments had done their duty as well

as that of the little Prince, *Lilla Printzen*, (by which name he used to call him) the Russians would never have gained the battle.

had been left before *Pultowa*, but he was made prisoner before he came to them; those regiments having retreated towards the baggage, after an attack from General *Rensel*.

As soon as the King came up to his baggage, he waited not only for the arrival of the troops who returned by little and little from the action, but he stayed yet some hours longer, to see if the enemy had any mind to pursue him, and attack him in the open field: but the *Russians* had not the courage to give him this satisfaction; and contented themselves with what they had gained by the assistance of their cannon and entrenchments.

The King was not inclined to quit his present encampment, hoping to have a second trial with the enemy; but on the strong instances of *Mazeppa*, who was afraid for his own person, and on the repeated entreaties of his faithful Generals and Officers, he at last suffered himself to be prevailed on, and after having had his foot new dressed, he entered calmly; without shewing the least emotion, into a post-chaise with *Mazeppa*; and marched with the remains of the army, artillery and baggage, with the sound of trumpets and kettle-drums along the *Worskla*, directly towards the *Boristhenes*: this march was performed in excellent order, without the least loss of any kind; and so gallantly, that it bore no resemblance to a defeat. The enemy's troops made several shows of attacking us, but on the Rear-Guard's facing about to receive them, they had never the courage to execute their intentions. The next day the army arrived at the *Boristhenes*, twelve leagues from *Pultowa*.

1709.

Such was the success of the famous battle of *Pultowa*, of which so much has been spoken and written in the world, always to the advantage of the *Russians* and the disadvantage of *Charles XII.* If we reflect on the unhappy consequences of that bloody day, we must confess that they have been very fatal to us, in the loss which *Sweden* has since suffered; but if abstracted from all the consequences of that battle, we consider only the circumstances of the action itself, and have regard only to bravery and true glory, the honour must be always placed on the side of the *Swedes*, who with a body of between ten and eleven thousand men almost starved and destitute of every thing, with an intrepidity and courage which have been scarce ever equal'd, attack'd an intrenched army of upwards of an hundred thousand men, provided with every thing both for their subsistence and defence; whom our troops not only forced to give ground, but would have absolutely overthrown and conquered, even by the confession of the *Russians*, if the King's wound had not prevented him from giving orders himself. Moreover, the enemy's loss was as great in the morning when the battle began, as ours was at the end. I do not find in the *Swedish* history a battle nearer resembling this than that where *Gustavus* the Great attacked the intrenchment of *Wallenstein*, near *Nurenbourg*, where the loss of the *Swedes* and *Imperialists* was almost equal; but when *Gustavus Adolphus* retreated with his army after the battle, it was yet sixty thousand strong, and he had his way open to him on all sides; but when *Charles XII.* retreated from before *Pultowa*, he had in all, including the sick and all his detachments,

no more than about fourteen or fifteen thousand men, without any place of retreat where he could place this handful of men in safety, and he was near three hundred leagues distant from his Kingdom; notwithstanding which, this brave Prince was so far from losing courage, that he yet breathed nothing but the spirit of battle, and if he could have mounted his horse, tho' never so little, we should perhaps have had our revenge near the *Boristhenes*, when the enemy followed us thither.

If the *Muscovites* had gained so compleat a victory, as they pretended, why did they not immediately follow the remains of the army which attended the baggage, and why did they not possess themselves of our cannon and baggage, if we had been so absolutely beaten as they had reported? For this must have been very easy for them to do, if they had gained a compleat victory. But as they knew us too well to attack us in the open field, so it is certain they never marched but in great bodies, and suffered us very quietly to pursue our rout to the *Boristhenes*.

To confess the truth however, we suffered sufficiently by the consequences of this battle; for it occasioned the loss of *Revel*, of *Riga*, and the rest of *Livonia*, which the enemy conquered with great ease, by reason of the plague which caused a general desolation, and we may truly say that fortune hath miraculously seconded the Czar in all his enterprizes; but no one can agree, without blinding himself, to all those disadvantages which have been placed to our account, by reason of the battle of *Pultowa*. The *Swedish* nation hath certainly not lost her an-

1709. cient valour, nor the reputation of her arms; the judgment of which we leave to posterity.

The *Muscovites* were not better foldiers at the battle of *Pultowa*, than they had been the preceding year at that of *Holofzin*; nor can any one say, that they have become braver since that time. This last action was not less wonderful in its kind, than the battle of *Narva*; and the King gave here very sensible tokens of his powerful genius for war.

On the twenty-ninth of *June*, old style, *Charles XII.* arrived with his army on the banks of the *Boristhenes*; the whole amounted, including the sick, maimed and wounded, to about sixteen thousand men; the rest having been killed or taken prisoners in the battle.

We had not one General killed, but six Colonels met with that fate; the first was Count *Torstenfon*, Colonel of the regiment of horse of *Nyland*; he was a young Nobleman of about thirty-three years of age, but already consummate in the art of war, and had besides a very cultivated genius: if he had lived longer, he would have equalled if not surpassed his grandfather the Great *Leonard Torstenfon*, who was a Velt-Marshal of the *Swedish* armies in our wars with *Germany*. The young Count had served ever since he was fifteen years of age in the *Saxon* troops in *Hungary*. The King knowing his merit, had trusted him with a separate body of several regiments from the time we had entered the *Ukrain*; and he gave proofs on all occasions of a conduct worthy a great General, till he gloriously lost his life at this battle.

The other Colonels killed in the field, were *Stiernbok*, who commanded the regiment of *Upland*; *Siegroth*, who had the *Dahl-Carlers*; *Ulfsparre*,

Ulfsparre, of the *Westrogoths*; *Weydenheim*, of that of *Sudermant*; *Rank*, of the regiment of *Calmar*; and, *Buchwald*, of that of *Fonkioping*; all foot.

Amongst those of the Court and Chancery Mr. *Olof Hermelin*, Counsellor of the Chancery, a man of great abilities; *Gustavus Adlerfelt*, and *Hirschenstierna*, Secretary to the King, were all killed on the spot.

We long hoped that *Hermelin* was not dead, but that he had been taken prisoner. It is certain that his name was in the first list of prisoners which the Czar sent to King *Augustus*, with his relation of this battle; but in all the others he is reckon'd amongst the dead. It is however pretty extraordinary, that three priests pretended to have buried him, and each of them in a different place; it is probable, that they were all deceived, the great heat having caused the bodies of all those who were killed to swell so violently, that their faces could not be known. Whilst I was a prisoner in *Muscovy* in the year 1713, a Cossack Colonel assured me, that he had spoke to *Hermelin* in 1712, through a hole of a deep dungeon, in a little town situated between the *Ukrain* and the City of *Moscow*, the name of which I have forgotten.

Amongst the prisoners of distinction, were Count *Piper*, Count *Rheinschild*, the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, the Major-Generals *Schlippenbach*, *Roos*, *Stakelberg* and *Hamilton*.

Major-General *Meyerfeld*, who is actually now Velt-Marshal, Senator and Governor of *Pomerania*, had the misfortune some months before the siege of *Pultowa* to break his leg: he obtained a passport of the Czar to pass safely

1709. safely through *Poland*, in case he should fall into the hands of some party of *Russians* or confederated *Poles*, and he designed to go into *Germany* in order to get himself cured. Upon the strength of this passport his Majesty sent him from *Stara-Zianscara*, which is situated between *Pultowa* and the *Boristhenes*, where he had been posted to demand of the Czar some particulars which I do not now call to mind; all this did not prevent *Meyerfeld* from being put under arrest: The Czar pretending, that as the passport had been given some time before the battle, it could not be of any validity; however, he was presently released on his parole; but on condition he would send back in his place some *Russian* General made prisoner by our troops.

On the *Boristhenes* *Charles XII.* halted, with the remains of his army, near a town called *Perevolocsna*, where the *Worskla* empties itself into the *Boristhenes*: His Majesty's intention being immediately to pass the *Worskla*, which is not very wide in this place, and to attend on the other side of the river the motions of the *Russians*, if they had any inclination to attack us, and afterwards to take the road of the *Crim*. This project was the more easy to be executed, as we had with the baggage not only sufficient horses for all the foot, but likewise for all the servants, boys and sutlers.

The King having taken this resolution, ordered all the baggage to be burnt, and all the ammunition-bread, consisting of large biscuits, to be distributed amongst the soldiers, with which every regiment was provided for six weeks. The military chests, which were guarded by several regiments, were to be conducted into

two places, and the money distributed among the officers to serve them in case of need, and which were to be placed to the account of the wages which were due to them. 1709.

After his Majesty had given out these orders, the Generals of the army came to him, and desired him with the most earnest entreaty, to convey his sacred person to a place of safety, representing to him the danger of his wound, which would not permit him to follow the army and support fatigue. They promised him on their side punctually to execute all his orders, provided he would secure himself from those dangers to which the army must be exposed. These intreaties prevailed on the King, who at last determined to pass the *Boristhenes*; but before his departure, he expressly enjoined *Lowenbaupt* to follow in every circumstance those orders which he had given for a retreat towards the *Crim*.

After the King had made all these dispositions, he passed the *Boristhenes* about midnight, having with him the regiment of foot of *Sudermanland*, which had been in the trenches before *Pultowa*, during the battle. The detachment of Lieutenant-Colonel *Funk*, which had been posted at *Belitz*; and that of Lieutenant-Colonel *Silfwerbielm*, which had been posted as we have said before near *Perevolocsna*, likewise attended his Majesty. The regiment of *Sudermanland* amounted to two hundred men, *Funk*'s detachment to eight hundred, and that under *Silfwerbielm* to five hundred; besides these, the *Drabans*, with the *Einspanners* commanded by *Andrej*, also followed his Majesty. Several Generals and Officers, amongst whom some were wounded, were named by the King to

1709. follow him, together with the Court, Chancery, &c. The General or *Hettman Mazeppa* had already passed the river with a good number of Cossacks.

Count *Lowenhaupt*, who had received his orders with full power to act as he found it most convenient for the service of his King and Country, had with him no more than two Major-Generals, *Creutz* and *Cruus*, when the King quitted the army, his Majesty having taken the rest with him.

The King had no sooner passed the *Boristhenes*, than his orders for immediately burning the baggage and distributing the money, were no more thought of. As the troops were extremely fatigued, they went quietly to repose themselves, as soon as the guards and pickets were placed for the security of the army.

The next morning they were awaken'd by the Knées *Menzikof*, who had followed us at the head of all the *Muscovite* horse, and driven our pickets and advanced guards from the hill where they were posted; I say hill, because the army was encamped in a valley near the *Boristhenes*. *Menzikof*, after this first expedition, sent to *Lowenhaupt* to offer him a capitulation.

I have said above, that the army, including the sick and wounded, might have amounted before the King's departure to sixteen thousand men; amongst which near five thousand were in no condition of fighting, by reason of their wounds, distempers, &c. and about fifteen hundred followed his Majesty; so the remainder of the army which were able to act might make in all between nine and ten thousand, which was near the number of troops the King had with him

on

on the day of the battle of *Pultowa*, when he attacked the *Muscovite* entrenchment. 1709.

This army, small as it was, shewed all imaginable eagerness to come to an engagement; it did not appear to them impossible to beat the *Russian* horse, before they were joined by the foot which followed them in full march; and then after they had overthrown the enemy they would have been in a condition to follow the plan and the orders of his Majesty; but ill fortune, which had resolved our ruin, prevented our burning the baggage and distributing the money in the evening as the King had ordered, by means of which every thing was thrown into disorder and confusion. Several were desirous to preserve the valuable baggage and money, which they had gotten in *Poland* and other places, and regard was had to their representations, especially to those of *Cruus* and *Creutz*, who were chiefly interested. Indeed we may say, that God had abandoned us, and that disorder and giddiness had conspired to deliver us up to our enemies.

To compleat our misfortune, *Lowenbaupt* was obliged to pay great deference to the advice of *Creutz* and *Cruus*, because he was yet little known amongst our troops; it is true he had commanded a party of the army before the battle of *Liesna*, but he had since received no other command save what he had a few days only before the battle of *Pultowa*. However this be, he might have exerted more vigour on this occasion, where he should have put all to the risk; and all the Officers of the army, who had ever so little penetration, could not help attributing the blame to him. Both officers and soldiers were in the utmost indignation

1709. nation at his proceedings, to which they could not be accus'd of having given their consent, since they were not informed of the articles of Capitulation, till after they had been settled.

Count *Lozvenhaupt*, after having intirely agreed with *Creutz* and *Cruus* to surrender to the enemy, called together, for form only, all the Colonels and Commanders of the regiments, as well as the oldest Officers, to declare to them their intentions; and tho' most of them were of opinion to give battle and follow the King's plan, no regard was had for their representations, but they followed the opinions of those who had already concluded and settled the whole affair.

In consequence of this resolution, *Creutz* and *Cruus* were sent to the enemy, to capitulate as well as they could with the Knées *Menzikof*. The Articles of Capitulation are so well known, that it is needless to insert them here.

A JOURNAL

Of the KING of SWEDEN's Retreat
to Bender after the Battle of Pultowa.

AFTER we had been repulsed at the at- 1709.
tack of the *Muscovite* entrenchments, on the twenty-eighth of *July*, new style, his Majesty halted with the remains of the army near the baggage, to wait for the return of his troops from the battle, and to see if the enemy would bring themselves to attack us in the open field; but the *Russians* attempting nothing, the King, after having dined and stood several hours together in this place, which was but half a league from the field of battle, yielded to the repeated intreaties of his Generals, and gave orders to his army to decamp and march towards the *Boristhenes*.

The army was put in motion between two and three in the afternoon with the sound of kettle-drums and trumpets, and marched gallantly in sight of the enemy along the *Worskla*, and between that river and that of *Psiol*, directly to the *Boristhenes*. The King advanced but a few leagues this first day, being seated with *Mazeppa*, in a chaise which belonged to Baron *Sittman*^k, a Lieutenant-Colonel, and Aid-de-Camp General of the King of *Prussia*; the Baron was charged with the affairs of his master, and had a considerable time followed the army as a volunteer.

The

^k A Privy Counsellor to the Duke of *Wurtemberg*.

1709.

The army having decamped the next day at nine in the morning, continued their march both that and the following day, without the enemy's having had the courage to pursue them; they indeed made several shews of harassing our army, but retreated as soon as we put ourselves in a posture of defence.

In this manner we arrived on the eleventh of July at the *Boristhenes*, near a little town called *Perewoloczna*, which the enemy had burnt; his Majesty was of opinion instantly to pass the *Worskla*, which was neither wide nor deep in this place, and to march with the army towards the *Crim*: but his wound hindering him from supporting the fatigue, and being besides absolutely incapable of bearing his horse, he yielded to the entreaties of his Generals, who begged him to secure his sacred person, whilst they would punctually execute his orders with regard to this march.

The King now took a resolution to pass the *Boristhenes*, giving orders to about one thousand horse and foot, without reckoning the *Drabans*, the *Einspanners*, the Court, the Chancery and the Cossacks, to follow him through the Desarts into *Turky*; but as he had neither sufficient boats nor wood to build them, he found himself very much embarrassed on this account. However, the enemy not appearing, we had time enough to search for them along the *Boristhenes*, and at length found a sufficient number of boats and canoes to begin the transportation, which we continued in safety till the twelfth of July; by which time about two thousand of our men were passed over, tho' we proceeded but slowly, because the *Boristhenes*

was

was so wide in this part, that we were an hour at least in passing and repassing. 1709.

The horses which we wanted were carried over in great numbers by the current, and as we took great care to put those at their head which were the best experienced swimmers; the others followed them so well, that they all arrived at the other side. The *Tartarian* horse did us good service on this occasion, as did the *Cossacks*; for as many of them were very good swimmers, they stripped themselves naked, and throwing themselves without saddles on their gallows, they encouraged a great number of the horses to follow them; and when those on which they were mounted were tired, they threw themselves into the water and swam by their sides, holding them at the same time by their bridles. In this manner, these people passed over a great number of horses without much labour, which would have given us a great deal of trouble, if we had been obliged to make them all swim by the sides of the boats or canoes.

As to the baggage, no one took more with him than was necessary; and they only carried over a few caleshes, which were well tied together on the canoes, to serve for his Majesty, old *Mazeppa* and some *Cossack Ladies*.

Mazeppa went over about six in the evening, but his Majesty did not pass the river till the middle of the night between the eleventh and twelfth of *July*, in a canoe, having some servants with him, after giving orders to Count *Lowenbaupt* to burn all the baggage of the army, and to march towards the *Crim*. As *Mazeppa* had left behind him two small casks full

1709. full of ducats, his Majesty sent Mr. *Neugebauer*¹ in the night, to fetch them; who soon returned with this money, which was afterwards of great assistance to us.

In the mean while the enemy having pursued our army, Count *Lowenbaupt*, instead of executing his Majesty's commands, surrender'd himself by capitulation, against the representations of most of the Officers in the army.

We had notice ever since the morning of the arrival of the *Muscovites*, by the report of the fire which we heard far off, and about noon we were informed by the return of our last boats, that *Menzikof* was posted with all his horse near our camp, and that he expected to be soon joined by the foot. We now thought the battle inevitable, not knowing any thing of the measures which *Lowenbaupt* was taking towards a capitulation, nor of his resolution to surrender. That the enemy might be prevented from immediately pursuing us, his Majesty ordered all the boats to be destroyed, to prevent the enemy from making use of them.

By these measures we secured our selves for some days from the pursuit of the *Russians*; but we had other enemies to combat with, which were the desert, hunger, thirst, the heat of the days and the cold of the nights which equally threatned us with destruction. As this desert which we were to pass was of a vast extent, and almost every where without water; we surveyed our situation with horror in so hot a season, and where we were in want of every thing.

In

¹ He is now Chancellor of the Court of Justice in *Pomerania*, and hath been made a Baron by his present *Swedish* Majesty.

In this sad condition we begun our march ^{1709.} the twelfth of *July*, new stile. All the army was on horseback except the King, who was in a little *Tartar* chaise, resembling our caleshes: This Prince had on his side Major-General *Hard*, who had been wounded at the battle of *Pultowa*. *Mazeppa* was in a coach with some *Cossack Ladies*. A profound silence reign'd every where, and no one knew which way to turn in order to pass the desert; the troops were at length divided into two columns, the one of which being composed of *Swedes*, followed his Majesty; and the other, consisting of *Cossacks* and *Valoches*, had *Mazeppa* at their head.

The desert, which we were to pass, is called by the neighbouring people, which are the *Poles*, *Tartars* and *Cossacks*, *Dzike-Pole*. The land is at first of a marshy kind in some places and covered with reeds, afterwards it becomes more dry and sandy; but at last presents the prospect of an open *Champaign*, without trees, and covered with grass: here and there are some hills, on which there are excellent pastures.

We soon found a road, which leads towards the Frontiers of the Palatinate of *Braclau*, but we quitted it to march directly a-crofs the desert towards *Turky*, without seeing the least path through which men had ever passed. However, our *Cossacks* conducted us like *Pilots* in an open sea, and knew all the vales and rivulets, and all the morasses which lay in our way. *Mazeppa* himself was not ignorant of any part of this desert, having often crossed it with the *Cossacks* in the last war between *Russia* and the *Turks*, towards the

1709.

the end of the last Century; when he had incessantly scoured the country as far as *Oczakow*; and it was he who in all likelihood advised the King to take this rout.

These guides conducted the *Swedes* in such a manner, that the two columns which took different roads joined the first evening near a morass covered with reeds; here the men and horses refreshed themselves, after having horribly suffered for want of water during the extreme heat of the day. They now laid aside all delicacy, and their thirst surmounting their disgust, each satisfied himself with drinking this troubled and muddy water, with which some of them filled bottles for the next day, our guides having assured us that we should not find any more in a great way. As to the horses, we turned them to graze; but the men suffered through the want of provisions; and what incommoded us most in this rout, was, that we were continually obliged to remain in the open air, there being neither hut nor cottage in these parts. It may be not improper to mention, that there is neither wood nor shade in this desert, but towards the evening we could shelter our selves from the sun behind the hills, which are pretty large in some places. The rest of the day we were exposed to the fiery rays of the sun, which darted perpendicularly on our heads in this vast champaign.

After our horses had foraged, we gave one another the signal without making use of trumpets, and afterwards continued our march as before till midnight, when we halted to give our horses some rest, which were much fatigued and very hungry; however, we could not suffer them to graze during the night, lest they should

run

run away, which would have obliged great part of our men to walk on foot, and would have rendered our situation yet more melancholy; some however being overcome with fatigue, having dismounted to take a little sleep, their horses taking the advantage of that time to graze, some of them ran away, and left their riders in a most dreadful perplexity. After two hours repose we renewed our march the thirteenth of *July*, at two in the morning: If we had suffered in the day through the violent heat, we underwent in the night besides our fatigue as piercing and extraordinary cold, which lasted till the sun appeared on the horizon; and we remark'd on this occasion, that the cold was the most violent an hour before sunrise, but as soon as the sun began to dart his rays we presently felt their force, and at the end of an hour or two the heat became so excessive, that as we had during the night great difficulty to preserve our selves from the cold, so no clothes were thin enough for the immoderate heat of the day. However, as disagreeable as these two opposite extremes were, especially the heat, which was not qualified by the least breath of air; we had reason to thank God that the season was not rainy, for in that case we could not have resisted the fatigue, and should very likely have perished all together.

We continued our march quietly till noon, when we came to a water, which obliged us to stop to give some pasture to our horses, which was very good in this part, and the water better than that of the preceding day, which afforded us great support.

1709.

As to provisions, the greater part of our people were without them; notwithstanding which they resolutely held out, with having recourse to food which could not but be in the highest degree distasteful. Some Tartars only, who were used to eat horse-flesh, cut the throats of those horses which were unable to keep up, and dressed them in their own way; they chose out the best bits, which they dried by the sun, or else laid them under their saddle to make them more tender and easy to digest, which sort of food their hunger made them eat with the greatest appetite in the world.

After having halted two or three hours at this place, we all remounted our horses and continued our march till midnight, when we rested again for some hours. In this manner we performed our whole journey from the *Boristhenes* to the *Bog*.

The fourteenth of *July* we found in this desert in several places very wide and long spaces of land all covered with a particular kind of cherries, these grew on very small shrubs, about the thickness of the smallest birch-trees, and not higher than the grass; they were of the bigness of common and wild cherries red and very sharp: the Cossacks eat them very greedily, which gave our men an inclination to taste them, who, finding them very good, took with them a large quantity of these small shrubs, each of which bore two or three cherries, and served them on the road for refreshment. These cherries resembled the *Chamæcerasti*, mentioned by *Pliny*, and those which grow in *Switzerland*; to which they give the name of *Mountain-Cherries*,

We

We saw besides in this country several sorts of game, as hares, wild sheep and a sort of partridge. As for the sheep, some of our men pursued them and killed some of them, the Cossacks having assured us that they were very good to eat, and they came to us very agreeably in our present scarcity; but the chief question was, how to dress them: for the vast desert did not produce a single stick of wood, with which we might make a fire. However, as necessity is the mother of invention, we thought on a way, which was to make use of horse-dung, which we dried in the sun, and afterwards burnt to roast our game with; tho' the heat of this fire was not sufficient to make the flesh of our sheep very tender, yet those who eat thereof affirmed that the taste came very near up to that of the roe-buck; but these animals did not in the least resemble our sheep, being leaner, higher, bow-neck'd, and their wool of a black colour.

The fifteenth of *July*, we passed through a road which led from the Palatinate of *Bracław* into the *Ukrain*. The Cossacks there met a Peasant, who drove a waggon loaded with salt, in order to convey it to the *Ukrain*; and as we were in want of it, and did not care it should fall into the enemy's hands, they spared the Peasant the trouble of carrying his charge any further, by immediately buying it as well as his horses.

The scarcity of provision was still very great, and as hunger encreased more and more, it at last obliged several of our men to accompany the Tartars in eating horse-flesh; and afterwards all our men from the first to the last had recourse to this food, although they had yet some

1709. victuals left; but they conceal'd it, for fear of having unwished-for guests to partake of it.

In the mean time we approached the frontiers of *Turky*, altho' it was difficult to distinguish it in these desarts. The Cossacks informed us, that it begun above half way between the *Boristhenes* and the *Bog*. And as we were ignorant in what manner we should be received there with so great a number of men, his Majesty had already sent General *Poniatoffski* with the Secretary *Klinkofstrom*, to the Governour of *Oczakow*, to give him notice of his arrival, and to desire him to take care that when the King came to the *Bog*, every thing should be ready for him to pass it, with all his men; and that they might have provision there, which he would buy with ready money.

The Bashaw, or Governour, immediately answered, that without an express order from the Grand Seigneur, he could not agree to the King's passing; but upon the reiterated remonstrances of *Poniatoffski*, who in a very lively manner represented to him that there was not a moment's time to be lost, he was pleased without delay to send the King's letters by water to *Constantinople*. To these letters he joined his own representations, and at the same time sent a courier to the Bashaw or Seraskier of *Bender*, to ask his advice how to act on this important occasion, till he had received an answer from *Constantinople*, which might arrive in four or five days, if the wind was favourable, *Oczakow* being situated upon the Black Sea.

The Seraskier answer'd him, that he had nothing to do, but to furnish us with provisions for ready money, and to keep all the barks and men in readiness to convey the King over the

Bog;

Bog; time being extremely precious, as he knew the *Russians* had passed the *Boristhenes* in order to pursue his Majesty. 1709.

Poniatofski and *Klinkofstrom* came back with this news, but they did not yet know the *Seraskier* of *Bender's* answer, which we afterwards learned, whilst we yet kept on our way. We arrived in a place, where the ground being extremely sandy and dry, the pasture was worth nothing; there was also in this country a river, which was the only one we had seen since the *Boristhenes*, it was called *Ingulet Weliki*, that is to say, the Great, to distinguish it from another river which runs more to the left, and which is called *Ingulet Malinki*, or the Little.

We left the river on our right, and continuing our march from it, we set up our little camp a league from the *Bog*, where we found water enough; but its not being fresh, was a great inconveniency to both men and horses. As we were very industrious in searching for freshwater, our *Cossacks*, who were always in motion, and who were perfectly acquainted with the country, had the good fortune to discover a fountain of excellent water, at a small distance from the camp¹. As it was feared so great a number of men would soon drain the spring, centinels were posted there to keep order, and that the King might always have water fresh and pure. The poor horses, besides their bad pasture, were still forced to drink dirty water, which took

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¹ Monsieur *Voltaire* in his history of *Charles XII.* says, it was General *Poniatofski* who discovered this fountain near a willow-tree.

Nevertheless, one may say, that there is not in all this desert wherewithal to form the least wand.

1709. its bitter taste from the neighbourhood of the *Euxin* Sea.

Here we saw wolves all among us, one of which of a prodigious size passed through the middle of our men, and had the good fortune to escape them; and having spread a terror through all our men, he had full time to get out of danger.

We were already on the frontiers of *Turky*, which country increased in beauty the farther we advanced. We were told that in this delicious country there are whole fields covered with wild melons; and we met with some fields full of wild white cabbages. Notwithstanding all these advantages of the most fruitful ground in the world, this Country is a desert as far as the *Bog*, and there is not even the least sign that it has ever been inhabited^m.

After

^m We have great reason to admire the incomprehensible and profound wisdom, with which God has distributed the parts of this world, and given to men so many wild and unfruitful countries; where they are obliged with incessant labour to get their bread, which often is not sufficient to nourish them all. Whilst so many great and vast provinces, the most fruitful and delightful, remain uninhabited and uncultivated. This desert is certainly in the number of these last countries, it remains untilled, not because there is any impossibility of its producing the necessaries of

life, but by a conceal'd and wise providence.

It may perhaps be objected, that the want of water prevents its being inhabited; but this objection is not sufficient, because this inconvenience might be remedied by digging springs, as they do in *Poland* and in the *Ukrain*, where, in a thousand places they only make use of this sort of water; and the morasses which are in this desert plainly prove, that there must be a great number of fountains. Besides, the two rivers of *Ingulet* not only produce at their rise, and towards their middle, as far as within some

After reposing some hours in this place, we continued our march the sixteenth of July to-
wards

some few leagues of the *Euxin* sea, fresh water ; but they have also a favourable means of carrying on a commerce advantageously by the communication with the *Euxin*, otherwise called the Black Sea.

As to wood, which is the principal want in this fine country, it might easily be brought by two ways; namely, by the *Boristhenes* and the Sea : so that this country might become a great and important principality, if any one would undertake to cultivate it. Altho' we cannot penetrate into the reason why so many hundred thousand men, do not endeavour to this day to supply their wants by the possession of this fruitful situation, we may nevertheless alledge some probable reasons why the neighbouring people would never establish there.

The first is, the want of wood and water, two things difficult to be had in this desert. The second is the idleness and natural stupidity of these people, who not only want industry, but give themselves no manner of trouble to render life convenient and agreeable. The third, is the largeness of the neighbouring countries, the pro-

portion of their extent greatly surpassing the number of the inhabitants ; so that there remain places uncultivated there. The *Ukrain*, for example, is a country of such a vast extent, that it is not only in a condition plentifully to feed its inhabitants, but also produces enough besides to assist all its neighbours. Fourthly, they are not in the wrong who impute the cause of this negligence to the ancient *Scythians*, I mean the *European Scythians*, who according to *Quintus Curtius* inhabited from the left of *Thrace*, which is at present called *Romania*, and where *Constantinople* is situated, as far as the *Boristhenes* along the *Euxin* sea, and from the *Boristhenes* as far as *Tanais*, otherwise called *Don*. These *Scythians* never fixing any bounds between their lands, and consequently having nothing they could call their own, were ignorant of agriculture, and lived only upon milk and honey. They had neither houses nor any fixed abode, but continually went from one desert and from one province into another, with their wives, children and cattle. It is not wonderful that their successors having left part

1709. wards the *Bog*, where we arrived in two hours time. We incamped in a fine meadow along the river, but there was very little refreshment there, for want of fresh water : for altho' there is some, yet many leagues from thence as far as

of this country uncultivated and in the same condition in which they found it, at the same time preserved some remains of the *Scythian* ancient manner of living. The *Zaporovians*, for example, to this day inhabit only in holes under ground, or in tents made of felt, that they might be the more easily carried from one place to another, living only upon their cattle, game and fish ; whence it is easy to conclude, why this delightful country has hitherto remain'd a desert on the Northern side, and why it should always remain in this condition, if one considers the genius of the neighbouring people, which on one side are the *Tartars*. Fifthly, the reason why the Southern part of this country is not inhabited by the *Turks* to whom it belongs, is the same we alluded in the third place, namely, the largeness of their country, and the scarcity of men ; which appears more especially in crossing this country from the *Bog*, as far as the *Niester*, where there are vast deserts which are entirely uninhabited, altho'

the situation is both agreeable and safe.

As to the *Poles*, who border on the Western side, no necessity has yet obliged them to quit their own fruitful and fine country ; and which is able very plentifully to maintain them, in search of a new one. Towards the East this desert has only the Black-sea, which bounds it on that side. But one cannot well decide, if it would be useful and profitable to a distant and polite nation, and who know the art of establishing themselves in an advantageous manner, to send colonies into a country surrounded by robbers, Barbarians, and by people who are constrained by neither laws nor manners ; it would be, I say, difficult to decide this question, at least unless it was first granted that this Colony should be protected by a formidable and neighbouring power ; and that by the help of this protection it might place itself in such a situation as to fear nothing, and even make use of it as a barrier against the dreadful power of the *Turks*.

as the Black Sea, the river had nevertheless already taken the muddy taste. As to the breadth of this river, which rises far off in *Podolia*, and which is navigable in *Poland*, it is a good quarter of a league in this place. The *Turks* already expected us there with impatience, that they might sell their provisions; their greediness after money made them, as soon as they perceived us on the opposite shore, row with all their strength to join us.

It is easy to guess with what eagerness men almost famished waited their arrival. As it was to be feared there would be great disorders, the King placed guards near the river to prevent any confusion when the barks drew to the shore; and to take care that his Majesty and his Court were first served.

The *Turks* at their arrival knew very well how to turn this impatience to their profit, and they made an advantage, like *Jews*, of the condition they saw us in; and particularly when they saw we gave them money, without even agreeing on the price of their provision, which they distributed to the poor famished *Swedes*, just as they thought proper. However, they were very well contented on both sides, the *Turks* that they made a good market of us, and the *Swedes* that they had satisfied the most pressing hunger.

The provision which they brought us consisted in sheep, fowls, fish, bread, biscuits, figs, several sorts of wine, spice, wood, &c. The sheep were large, beautiful and extremely fat; the fowls resembled the common sort; the bread and the biscuit was very well baked, and of a good taste, and the figs were neither fresh nor whole, but cut, candied, and fastened by the

1709. the dozen to stalks of straw, which we bought at first at a groat a dozen; but afterwards for the half of that price.

As to wine, they brought us different sorts; but the greatest part was the wine of the *Crim*, very heady, not agreeable, and a little upon the red. They also brought us another sort, which they said was *Greek* wine; and that it was as strong as that of the *Crim*, but it was infinitely more agreeable. These two sorts of wine were not so dear in proportion as the other provisions. It was nevertheless necessary to take great care, because it was easy to be overcome with the strength of these wines, and even before the thirst was quenched. Our men, who were very dry, felt the bad effects of it, which at the first caused some disorder. We found afterwards that this drink was not only incapable of quenching thirst, but even augmented it; for which reason we ceased buying it. The sheep and the wood was reserved for the King, who had scarce eat any thing hot all the time we were in the desert.

We had some difficulty in dealing with the *Turks*, because we had no knowledge of either their money or their language, having no body amongst us who could speak it. They brought with them a *Jew*, who served for an interpreter; but what signifies one man amongst so many people, where the croud and confusion was so great? Their small money consisted mostly in *aspres* and *parash*, of which they talked much; and ours were *gros* and *copekes*, having with us in small silver only these two sorts; the former *German*, and the latter *Russian*. As the *copekes* were extremely small, the *Turks* at first made

made some difficulty of taking them; but the *Jew* having instructed them in the *Saxon* coin, and particularly the *drittels* or *German* florins, they took them with pleasure; because they should get a great deal afterwards, by either melting or changing them. However, the ducats pleased them better than any other sort of coin; and they even begged us to be provided with them; for altho' afterwards each man stood on his guard, we were nevertheless obliged greatly to give way to the avarice of the *Turks*, who let slip no opportunity of crying up the value of their goods, and of selling them as dear as possibly they could. 1709.

As his Majesty did not take so much care of himself as of his poor soldiers, he caused both bread and meat to be distributed amongst them; giving orders that oxen, sheep and other food, should be bought to refresh them. A *Turk* coming forward at the beginning with a sheep and some other provision which he presented to the King, this Prince ordered him twelve ducats; which being reported to the others, they came in crouds from all parts, and laid at his feet all the best they had to regale him. His Majesty still continued to give them marks of his liberality, which, joined to that grand and majestick air which they saw shine in him, immediately inspired them with a veneration for his person; so that they are very much in the wrong who decry this nation as extremely barbarous: for the *Turks* esteem virtue, and shew, except some few faults, as much; and, it may be, more candour, honesty and charity, than many Christian Nations.

As

1709.

As it was not expedient to stay long on this side the river, the enemy being in full march to overtake us, his Majesty very much pressed the passage, sending again to the Bashaw of *Oczakow*^a, to remind him of executing his orders.

This Bashaw did not deny but that he had received orders from the Seraskier of *Bender*, concerning the King and a small retinue; but he said that these orders made no mention of his Majesty's troops, and consequently that he could only let the King with some domesticks pass; that he was going to prepare all that would be necessary for this passage, but for the troops he could not dispense with the orders from *Constantinople*. At the same time he forbid, under the most rigorous punishments, all the watermen and merchants who had brought us provisions, to take any *Swede* aboard. There was only one little bark which was always kept in readiness for the King and some few necessary attendants.

The King surprized at the Bashaw's interpreting the Seraskier's orders in this manner, declared plainly, that he would not pass the river without all his men, whom he would never abandon; and at the same time he sent the Bashaw word, that when he first asked leave to pass, it was not for himself alone, and that the Seraskier's orders, that he should transport him as soon as possible, must certainly include his followers. But it was talking to a man that was deaf, who was not at all inclined to favour the *Swedes*, altho' they did every thing in their power to gain him, both by promises and presents;

^a This town, which is situated on the other side of the *Bog*, was but five or six leagues distance from us.

sents; which at first was all in vain, but afterwards upon our giving him a considerable sum, he consented to our demand, and even without receiving any farther orders from *Constantinople*.

1709.


The Cossacks we had amongst us very much augmented his ill humour, and were partly the cause he was obstinate so long: for he would have been persuaded in favour of the *Swedes* without our being at such an expence, if the Cossacks, who were always suspected by the *Turks*, and particularly in this country, had not been with us. In this dangerous situation we had no other resource left, till we had prevailed on the *Bashaw*, but by great promises, to engage the merchants to transport the *Swedes*. We happily persuaded one, whose boat could hold fifty, to promise to transport them the next day for two ducats each man.

The *Swedes*, all men of distinction, who had bargained for this passage, went in the evening the seventeenth of *July* into the bark, having employed all the day in concluding their bargain; they stayed there all night, that they might go upon sure grounds, and for fear the merchant should change his mind; but when day broke, the eighteenth of *July*, they saw neither the merchant, who had already received half the money, nor his rowers: those who were embarked resolved to take some *Swedish* soldiers to row them over to the other side without waiting any longer. When they arrived at the middle of the river, the *Turk*, who was master of the bark, met them, having about twenty men with him in his boat, and cried out like a fury to the *Swedes* to return to land, and that otherwise they should instantly
repent

1709.

repent it. These menaces made no impression on the *Swedes*, and they even continued to row towards the opposite shore. The *Turkish* merchant to intimidate them, ordered his men to make ready to fire ; our men at the same time put themselves in a posture of defence, and by that means struck such an awe into the *Mussulmen* that they retreated, and arrived on the other bank before the *Swedes*, who, being uncertain what the *Turks* would do at their landing, held themselves in readiness for all events, but the affair went better than was expected ; and except some few abuses, which the *Swedes* pretended not to hear, the affair was terminated without their being forced to come to an engagement. The *Turks* contented themselves with obliging the *Swedes* presently to quit the bark, into which they threw themselves with precipitation, and rowed towards *Oczakow*.

The *Swedes* who were passed over, were very glad to find themselves in a place of safety ; but they were very nearly concerned at the sad fate of all the rest, because no *Turk* durst render them this charitable piece of service to transport them, being strictly forbid by the *Bashaw* ; who however, being gained by money as above mentioned, the *Turks* gave them boats towards the evening of the eighteenth of *July* ; and we made so good use of them that day, and the next being the nineteenth of *July*, that we passed over a great number of men.

As to the King, who had his bark in readiness, he still continued to take care to transport his men, as well to encourage them, as to make the *Bashaw* fear he should run a great risk if he did not speedily send more barks to transport

transport all the rest. The King appeared fully resolved to stay on that side, till all his men were transported. The *Turkish* Governour at last sent more barks, but it was too late, the King had already passed, and the *Russians* arriving soon after, took prisoners all those who remained on land. The King's train, after the passage, was composed of the Hettman *Mazeppa*, the Major-Generals *Axel-Sparr*, *Hardb*, *Lagercrona* and *Poniatoffski*; the Colonels *Ornstedt*, *Hierta* and *Dabildorf*; the Lieutenant-Colonels *Gyllenkrok*, *Ebrenschild*, *Funk*, *Silverbielm*, *Grotbusen* and *Leyonbrink*; the Adjutant-General *Gyllenkla*, and of several other officers of distinction and quality, with the remainder of the *Drabans* and some soldiers, amounting in all to four hundred men, or thereabouts; besides some Cossack officers.

As to the Court, it was composed of Marshal *Düben*, the Chamberlains *Thornschold* and *Klingstierna*; the Gentlemen of the Court, *Clüsendorf* and *Cronmark*, Bishop *Malmberg* the King's confessor, who afterwards died at *Bender*, and who had succeeded Mr. *Nordberg* taken prisoner at *Pultowa*; the two masters of his Majesty's pantry, a butler, a controller, a cook, some under-cooks and butlers, and several foot-men.

The Chancery was composed of Mr. *Müllern*, Counsellor to the Chancery; Mr. *Fieff*, Counsellor of war; the three Chancellors *Bunge*, *Hyltén*, and *Von Kochen*, and some Clerks; which in all amounted to five or six hundred men.

The rest might all have passed very easily from the time we arrived at the *Bog*, if the Bashaw had not testified so much ill-will towards us, and if he had furnished us in good time with

1709. with the boats which were necessary, there being great numbers at *Oczakow*; but the obstinacy of this *Turk*, before he was brought over by money, was the cause that in the afternoon of the nineteenth the *Russians* surprized the rest of our men, immediately stopt some of the vessels, and fired upon those who at their arrival quitted the shore to cross the river.

As the *Swedes* were not able to oppose forces so much superiour, they were soon obliged to surrender themselves prisoners; but as to the *Cossacks* who knew the country perfectly well, they saved themselves by crossing the desert, and were not long pursued by the *Russians*, who being fatigued as well as the *Swedes*, were not in a condition to overtake them. Besides, the *Russians* had already sufficiently violated the *Turkish* frontiers, and committed too many hostilities upon the Grand Seignor's territories, to venture at any further excesses, which might draw upon them fatal consequences, if the *Turks* should be incensed and take the field to cut off their retreat, for which reason they speedily returned to the *Boristhenes*.

It was not then sufficient that these poor unhappy men had already suffered the most horrible miseries and fatigues in passing the desert, but they were forced to cross it yet a second time as slaves, and in a condition much more sorrowful and deplorable. There were very few of them who arrived at the *Muscovite* army; for the *Cossacks* informed us that they had found a great many of them in the desert, who were overcome by hunger, misery and fatigue, the *Russians* themselves having repassed this vast desert with great difficulty. Those few of them who had the good fortune to save themselves,

elves, were very much comforted when they saw the King in safety, notwithstanding the uncertainty of their fate, being in a foreign country, and at the discretion of a people of whom the *Europeans* commonly form very false ideas. They nevertheless greatly regretted the loss of their faithful companions, and also of their baggage, and all they had brought with them from the *Boristhenes* as far as the *Bog*; which the enemy there seized and carried off. The greatest part complained more particularly of the loss of their horses, of which very few had passed the river; so that even several persons of distinction were under a necessity of travelling on foot. 1709.

As soon as the Bashaw had begun to change his conduct towards us, he ordered provision and other things necessary to be transported to our camp. The *Turkish* merchants came thither in crouds, and brought us all sorts of commodities; and amongst others, horses and waggons, which they sold very dear to those who were able to pay for them, which however comforted our men who were terribly fatigued and dejected. The King only, notwithstanding his wound and the sorrowful spectacle he had just seen of his men dragged into slavery almost before his eyes, preserved his usual grandeur of mind and a tranquillity quite uncommon and worthy of a hero.

We then began to hope, that instead of the desert through which we had passed, we should have the good fortune to meet in our rout towns and villages; but we greatly deceived ourselves in this respect, we had not yet crossed all this vast desert which still continued, so that in the day we were exposed to an extraordinary

1709. heat without being able to find the least shade, and in the night we had only the ground for mattresses and quilts, and the sky to cover us. But as we at least found ourselves in safety, in regard to the enemy who could no longer pursue us, all those who were able to be at any expence, bought small *Turkish* waggons, made in the manner of the country, namely, of the length of a man, very narrow and without any iron, and so light that one horse is able to draw them, they have four wheels and a board at the top, of the depth of a span and a half, which is covered with felt; we accommodated ourselves with these carriages the best we could, and continued our march but slowly. In the day these carriages served us for shelter in the places where we encamped, in the night we used them instead of beds; when it rained, they were our tiles; they at the same time held our little provision, and into them we could retire and shelter ourselves as *Diogenes* did formerly in his tub.

It then appeared to us, that the country itself obliged the inhabitants to live there in the manner of the ancient *Scythians*; for although this famous people have for a long time ceased making any figure in the world, their manner of living is yet so much practised in all this country, that they still continue the same rambling and vagabond life, without either fire or fixed habitation, continually decamping from one place to another, without building either towns or villages.

It was a spectacle equally melancholly and ridiculous, to see us in the morning come out from under the felts of these waggons; nor was the manner in which we drove them all day less ridiculous.

diculous. We nevertheless travelled more conveniently in them through the desert, than we did formerly on horseback : the fatigue of which became at last quite insupportable. As soon as we were provided with necessaries to continue our journey, we began the march ; because the place where we then were failed in good pasture and fresh water. We then drew directly towards *Oczakow*, still crossing a great plain which bounded our sight. When we saw his Majesty take this rout, we were in hopes he would fix his camp near this town, where we might refresh and repose our selves at our ease ; but this was neither the intention of his Majesty, nor of the Bashaw : so that we turned suddenly on the right of *Oczakow*, marching through uncultivated and uninhabited fields, and encamped three leagues from this town.

However, this town was of great use to us ; for the Bashaw gave some *Swedes* who were to buy the King's provisions the necessary passports, with free leave to enter there. Several made use of this opportunity to buy a thousand little things in the town, which they wanted the more as the distempers caused by the miseries we had suffered, began to spread amongst us ; and especially the dysentery, which very few, except the King, escaped.

This distemper immediately seized us after our arrival at the *Bog*, and as soon as we began to eat what the *Turks* brought us thither ; their heady wine, the figs, and all those candied fruits, could not agree with that quantity of water with which we had loaded our stomachs going through the desert in the excessive heat, to which we had been exposed.

1709.

We stayed in the first camp on this side of the *Bog*, the twenty-first and twenty-second of *July*. His Majesty employed all that time in consulting on the present situation of affairs; he was resolved to send somebody to *Constantinople*. For this purpose he spoke to several persons, but they refused being charged with this commission, under pretence that they neither knew the state of affairs, nor the customs nor manners of the country. His Majesty then sent for Mr. *Neugebauer*, a native of *Dantzick*, and who having retired out of the *Muscovite* service, had for some time followed the army in quality of a voluntier, with a convenient pension. His Majesty spoke to him of it himself, and Mr. *Neugebauer* consulting only his zeal for his Majesty's service, immediately accepted the employment. They without delay dispatched his credential letters, and the following letter from the King of *Sweden* to the Grand Signor.

To the most high, most powerful, most glorious and invincible Emperor ACHMET, Son of MAHOMET the Fourth; Emperor of diverse Empires, King of many Kingdoms, Sovereign and Protector of several different Nations; whom God protect, and prolong your Reign.

“ THIS Letter, sign'd by our Royal Hand,
 “ is to give your Highness notice of our
 “ arrival in your dominions; and to inform you
 “ of the misfortune that happened to us in
 “ those of the Czar, after we had thus far as
 “ fortunately as justly chastised the violation

“ of the law of nations and the faith of treaties solemnly sworn to. After having forced King *Augustus* to renounce the Crown of *Poland*, of which he was rather the tyrant than the King, gave that nation a King from amongst themselves, who is a friend to your sublime Port; after we had chased the Czar, his Ally and Colleague in perfidy, from *Poland*, which he had set in a flame, and pursued him as far as the town of *Pultowa*, to give him laws and break his pernicious designs; heaven has permitted our army, diminish’d and fatigu’d by rough marches, and wanting the most necessary things for subsistence, being suddenly overwhelm’d by a multitude three times more numerous and provided with all we wanted, in the end to lose the battle.

“ Not being in a condition, nor near enough our provinces to raise a new army, and being willing to escape falling into the hands of a barbarous enemy, we are come to seek in this Empire an asylum against his perfidy, under the august protection of your Imperial Highness, with means of immediately re-joining the army we have left in *Poland*, under the command of the worthy King, whom we have given to that Kingdom, to support him on his throne, in case that he whom we have by force dethroned should attempt to re-ascend it, contrary to the faith of Treaties which we have made with him.

“ What we propose to our selves besides this asylum, and these means, is the friendship of your Imperial Highness; to whom we offer and promise on our part the most sincere attachment we are capable of. The first proof

1709.

“ we think ourself under an obligation to give
 “ of this attachment to your Highness, is to let
 “ you know that if we give the Czar, whose
 “ ambition is no more guided by courage
 “ than by faith and honour, time to make
 “ use of the advantage our ill fortune has gi-
 “ ven him over us, he will fall suddenly on
 “ some of your Provinces; as he and his Allies
 “ in perfidy have done upon ours, beginning an
 “ unjust war, not only without any declaration
 “ of it, but even in the midst of a peace esta-
 “ blished in the most solemn manner, at the
 “ time when he assured us by our reciprocal
 “ Ministers, that he was sincerely resolv’d re-
 “ ligiously to observe the treaties, and desired
 “ us to do the same thing on our part. But
 “ the several forts which this Prince has built
 “ upon the *Tanais*, and upon the *Palus Mæo-*
 “ *tis*, and his new fleet, sufficiently publish his
 “ pernicious designs against your empire with-
 “ out alledging these examples of his perfidy.
 “ Things being in this situation, we see nothing
 “ more useful or more proper to prevent the
 “ danger with which this Prince threatens
 “ your august Empire, than an alliance be-
 “ tween your sublime Port and our Court, by
 “ virtue of which your Highness will put us in a
 “ condition of returning safely into *Poland* and
 “ our Provinces, under the guard of a body of
 “ your valiant horse, and fortifying our army
 “ which is under the direction of a wise and
 “ faithful King, who will voluntarily enter
 “ into our confederacy. Which being once
 “ procured, we will yet once more carry our
 “ just arms as far as the heart of *Muscovy*, to
 “ suppress the unjust ambition of the Czar.
 “ Finally, we will never forget the favours it
 “ shall

“ shall please your Highness to confer upon us, 1709.
 “ and will seek all opportunities and means to
 “ give real proofs of our gratitude; and we
 “ shall always think it a particular honour and
 “ a real pleasure to subscribe our self,

Your faithful Friend,

CHARLES, Son of CHARLES XI.

Mr. *Neugebauer* being furnished with his instructions, began his journey; but before his arrival at *Constantinople*, the *Turkish* Emperor had already been informed of all that had passed, by an Aga, who having three weeks before escorted Secretary *Klinkostrom* and Mr. *Sandul*, as above mentioned, to the army before *Pultowa*, had been eye-witness of the bloody battle which was fought there, and as soon as we had passed the *Bog* went on before to inform the Grand Seigneur of what had happened; and also to give him intelligence of the King of *Sweden*'s approach, to put himself under his protection.

The next day, being the twenty-third of *July*, there arrived at the camp a *Turkish* officer, who was sent by the Seraskier of *Bender*, with letters full of politeness and civility for the King: in which this Governour greatly condoled the losses his Majesty had suffered, offering at the same time to do him all the service in his power; and sending the King a tent which came very seasonably, and which was immediately set up for his Majesty.

The *Turk* made but a very short stay, and after he had received a handsome present from his Majesty, he returned very well satis-

1709. fied to *Bender*. At the same time we continued our march on the side of *Oczakow*, and we encamped as usual in open field, without being able to discover on any part either villages, houses or cottages.

All this country was but one dreadful desert, known formerly by the name of *Solitudo Getarum*, the Desert of the *Getae*: it is at present included under the general name of *Tartary-Akerman*, and it extends itself from the Northwest of *Ishmaeli*. as far as *Oczakow*. There was not to be found the least hut, but only some horses which were guarded by the Tartars, who live to this day without following any other law than the instinct of pure nature; as did formerly the ancient vagabonds, which were collected or come out from among the *Daci*, the *Getae*, and the *Scythians*, who overwhelmed the little *Scythia*, the *Taurica Chersonesus*, and the banks of the *Palus Maotis*°. They form *bordes*, a sort of portable village, with their covered waggons, and some tents called *Obas*, which serve for a retreat or habitation for their wives and children. Finally, they live upon horse-flesh and other cattel, cheese, milk, and particularly mare's milk; and whilst one part make frequent inroads upon the neighbouring nations with fresh horses, the other part feed those who want rest, to refresh them; chusing for that use the best fields, and the finest meadows, where their *Keddis* or *Hordes* remain as long as their grass lasts.

It was with great difficulty we went through this desert, which is about twenty leagues from *Oczakow*, as far as the *Niester*; and if the officious and

° See *La Mottraye*, Vol. II. pag. 39.

and interested *Mussulmen* had not had the goodness to follow us with all sorts of provision, and to set up a sort of market on the road, which we passed through, where we might be provided with every thing necessary, and even buy horses, we should never have been able to have supported the fatigue of this journey. 1709.

The milk which the *Turks* brought us was not good, because of the bitter taste which is caused by the great quantity of wormwood which grows in this desert; so that we liked better to buy water, altho' it was hot and disagreeable, by being brought a great way in the manner of the country. This water however was so dear, that very often one good draught came to two *gros*, or more. They also sold us wine, but as it was extremely strong, it did not go off well, because it caused an excessive heat; besides, it could not at all quench our thirst. They brought us several other things; amongst others, excellent filberts, which were not inferior either in goodness or size to those in *Italy*. All this enliven'd the march, especially in the places where we encamped; because a great number of merchants and victualers always assembled there.

When the King arrived at the distance of a league from the town, he gave orders for us to encamp and stay there that night, and the next day, being the twenty-fourth of *July*. In this place we observed in his Majesty, what no one had ever remark'd before, outward marks of a deep melancholy. The news he had just received of the death of Madam Royal his Sister, the Duchess of *Holstein-Gottorp*, was the cause of this change.

Mr.

1709.

Mr. *Klinkostrom* had brought a letter from the Queen-Dowager, to inform him of this dismal news; but as he arrived before *Pultowa* some few days after the King was wounded, Count *Piper* thinking it improper, in a situation so dangerous for the King's health, to discover to him his sister's death; strictly forbade *Klinkostrom* to acquaint him with it, hoping to find a more favourable time to tell him of the Death of a Princess, whom he had always tenderly loved. The loss of the battle of *Pultowa*, followed with great disorders occasioned by our retreat through the desert, was the reason his Majesty was not yet acquainted with this news; and they resolved to stay till we had passed the *Bog*, and then to communicate it to him; which, for several reasons, could now be concealed from him no longer.

Mr. *Müllern*, Counsellor of the Chancery, was charged with this commission. He endeavoured as much as possible to soften the bitterness of this news, which could not but be a great trouble to him. The King, notwithstanding all his heroism and greatness of mind, was quite overcome, at hearing of the death of a sister who was so dear to him. Hitherto all the losses he had suffered, had not been capable of moving his constancy. He had always appeared indifferent, and with a serene and tranquil countenance in the midst of all his late misfortunes; but this last blow quite cast him down, and altho' before, notwithstanding the pain of his wound, those who were familiar with him had never heard him fetch the least sigh, he appeared so much oppressed by his sister's

sister's death, that he retired into his tent, and would neither see or speak to any body. 1709.

As this Prince from his youth had harden'd himself by fatigue and continual warlike exercises, it was generally thought, that he was in a manner insensible of all that is called tenderness, and that the most fatal events were not capable of moving his constancy and firmness; or else, which is more probable, that he was subject to these affections, but that he had so well conquered and brought them under, that he never let them appear outwardly, and that he always kept them deeply concealed in his mind. Nevertheless, we saw with astonishment, on this occasion, what an effect the tenderness for a sister so much beloved could have on a heart otherwise the most firm and magnanimous, that perhaps was ever known. In a word, this death even cost him tears, the only ones he had ever shed in all his reign^p.

Nevertheless this Prince, after he had given some time to the first sentiments of grief, which nature inspired him with, soon recovered that greatness of mind, which he had always shewn on all other occasions; and submitted himself, with respect to the irrevocable decrees of God. He did not delay returning an answer to *Stockholm*. At the same time he gave several officers and soldiers, who were either wounded or sick, leave

^p This must be understood about temporal things; for all the world knows, and the King's different Confessors could never enough praise his Majesty's devotion, when he communi-

cated, which he did twice a year. It was very well known, that for two whole hours this Prince remained upon his knees, and generally shed tears, so tender was his piety.

1709. leave to go to *Oczakow*, to be cured there; and to stay till such time as they were able to come to his Majesty at *Bender*.

It is very probable the King would have preferred *Oczakow* to *Bender*, if the Bashaw had behaved with more civility to him; but this reason and some others at last determined his Majesty to quit the neighbourhood of *Oczakow*: it was really very inconvenient, that the dispatches which were sent to *Constantinople*, were always forced to go through the desert, unless they sent them by sea.

We decamped the twenty-fifth of *July*, after having stayed a day and two nights in the neighbourhood of *Oczakow*; and encamped two leagues from thence in the desert. In this rout, we were obliged for several days to defend our selves against the continual attacks of a new enemy. A terrible number of locusts generally arose every day before noon from the sea-shore, first in a small number, but afterwards like clouds, which obscured the air, and made it so dark and thick, that the sun appeared in all this vast plain to be entirely eclipsed.

These insects did not fly near the earth, but almost of the same height as swallows, till they have found a field to pitch on. We often met with these insects in our way, and rising they made a noise like that of a tempest; they afterwards fell upon us like a storm, pitching on the same plain where we were, and without any fear of being trod under feet by our horses; when they arose from the ground they covered us all over in such a manner, that we could not see before us till we had passed the

the place where they were. In all places where these locusts pitch'd, they made a terrible havock, eating the grass by the roots; so that instead of that fine verdure, with which the country was before covered, there was nothing now to be seen but dry and sandy ground. It could not be believed that so small an animal could pass the sea, if experience had not so often convinced these poor people of it: for after having passed a small arm of the *Euxin* sea, coming from the islands and neighbouring countries, these insects crossed great provinces, where they destroyed every thing they met as far as to eat the very doors of the houses. 1709.

The next day being the twenty-sixth of July, we continued our march still through the same desert, or the *Tartary* of *Akerman*; and we encamped four leagues from the place which we had left the night before. After we had stayed there that night, we went the next day five leagues, passing near the lake *Teligon*, and encamped upon the borders of the *Euxin* sea, which we coasted along all this day. The water is extremely clear, and especially near the shore; so that it is falsely called the *Black Sea*, a name which was formerly given it to distinguish it from the *White* and *Red Seas*, as there are the *White*, *Red* and *Black Russia*. In the evening, as the King came to the spot where we were to encamp, there arrived an Envoy from the Han of *Tartary*, who demanded an audience of him. He immediately obtained it, and after he had given his Majesty a letter from his master, he made him a present of a small *Tartarian* waggon, which was drawn by four horses, and in which there was a tent. The King

1709. King immediately answered the Han's letter; and the Envoy having received a suitable present, departed to the *Crim*.

The twenty-eighth of *July* we continued our march by the side of the *Black Sea*. The heat was excessive, and the water beginning to fail, we suffered a great deal. We went four leagues that day. The twenty-ninth and the day following, having quitted the sea and marched seven or eight leagues from it, we came to a wretched *Tartarian* village, having not seen a single house in twenty days march from the *Boristhenes*. Nevertheless, the King forbade us lodging there, that we might not incommode the inhabitants; and we only took what they offered themselves, which was immediately paid for with ready money. This village, the thatched houses of which rather resembled caves under ground than houses, and the people appearing to us extremely miserable, was the most piteous sight in the world. The thirty-first we went six leagues, marching along the side of the *Niester*; and after we had passed the little river of *Kurkabun*, we at last encamped the next day a league from *Bender*.

His Majesty here heard the news, that the Czar had sent to *Constantinople*, to demand the delivery of *Mazeppa*; but that the Grand Seigneur had generously refus'd it him, which gave this Prince great pleasure. We stayed two days in this camp, where, contrary to our expectation, arrived some *Swedes*, who at the time that the *Russians* had surprized the others on the *Bog*, concealed themselves among some reeds, and had found means, after the enemy's departure, to pass the river,

river, by the assistance of the *Turkish* barks, 1709.
and afterwards to overtake us.

At our arrival near *Bender*, we found the Seraskier had already made all the necessary preparations for the King's reception; and as soon as he knew that his Majesty was on his way towards that town, he, with some horse, came out to meet him half way. After he had made a polite compliment to the King, he told him, that he had set up a camp by the Grand Seigneur's orders near *Bender*, on the other side of the river, for his Majesty and all his men, where he would find all that he had thought could be necessary for him; and that he desired him to receive graciously the pains he had taken on this account. The King answered this compliment in a very obliging manner. Then this Seraskier and his horse having surrounded the King's coach, we began again the march, continuing to coast along the *Niefter*. At our arrival before *Bender*, from which the river separated us, they fired all the cannon there round the fortress, at several different times. When the King entered the camp, he found there a magnificent tent, which was pitched for his Majesty. Before this tent were ranged, on both sides, two companies of Janisaries, who sounded their warlike musick to do honour to his Majesty. After the King had entered the tent, and given thanks to the Seraskier, the latter returned to the town with his retinue; but he left the companies of the Janisaries, with an Aga, for the King's guard. This Seraskier took care before his departure, that the principal officers and all the Court were well lodged in fine tents, which had been pitched

1709. pitched for them; and where they had every thing convenient; that of his Majesty particularly, being of a grandeur and magnificence worthy a King.

As the minutest Particulars relating to *Charles XII.* deserve to be recorded, we have thought proper, that we may omit nothing, to insert here the following Verses of Secretary *Ronnor Dublar* on the Picture of *Charles XII.* which we have placed before the First Volume of his History.

*On the most excellent Portrait of CHARLES XII.
King of Sweden, painted by KRAFT.*

*In Opus KRAFTII Clarissimum pingentis Suo-
num Imperatorem CAROLUM XII.*

Imperatorum vis summum pingere Krafti?

Define: Vix hominis res foret ista labor.

Pinge simul Curii, Marcelli & Cæsaris ora:

In tribus haud pictus CAROLUS unus erit.

Lapsa Polo nitidam virtus heroïca sedem

Omnis in hoc uno pectore fixit ovans.

Upon the Same.

In Idem.

Cæsare Marcello, Curius nil clarius extat:

Clarior at pictus Dux tribus unus adest.

Actior hoc, illo melior, frugalior isto,

Nulli impar, punctum CAROLUS omne tulit.

CAROLUS

CAROLUS immensi vastissima gloria mundi,
Axem qui Suionum, major Atlante gerit.

Londini Scanorum, Die

15 Aug. 1717.

Magnus RONNOW DUBLAR.

His Majesty thinking the Picture had too
great a resemblance of himself, defaced it :
On which Mr. *Dublar* made the following
Verses.

On the defacing the Picture of CHARLES,
drawn by KRAFT.

In dissectam Effigiem CAROLINAM Operis
KRAFTIACI.

Ludere Pictorem cupis, optime CAROLE, vultus

Dum celer augustos scindit acuta chalybs.

Falleris : in tuto est Pictoris laurea : dudum

Uranie in Cœlum transtulit ora tua.

Ecce micas illic ; nihil hic, quod ab arte re-
mansit,

Est, nisi purpurei luminis umbra tui.

En ! ut inocciduae tua lucis stella recepit

Te nitidum in nitido, Stella Borea, sinu,

Non vel Apellei fuit unquam illustrior auctor,

Vel fuit Herculei justior oris honor.

Quælibet orta recens Dea vibrat amica Tonantis

In faciem visam basia mille tuans.

Pascit in hac oculos tua jam lectissima Mater

Arctos UDALRICÆ nomine culta novo.

Hanc Jove nata sibi, quæ Martem sprevit, a-
moris.

Fassa placere faces, CAROLE, Pallas amat.

VOL. III.

T

Hæc

Appendix to the HISTORY of

Hæc Princeps sit Imago Tui, victoria, fani,
 Sit Princeps fani Pax rediviva Tui.
 Quam bona mens & amicæ Salus, artesque fideles
 Semper in Arctois suspiciunto jugis.
 Annua præcipue cum thura liberaverit horæ,
 CAROLE, natali candida Flora tuæ.

*Londini Scanorum ipsis
 Calendis Martii 1718.*

M. RONNOW DUBLAR.

Mr. Kraft presently repaired the Picture, and acquitted himself so well, that the cut in it was scarce visible. On which occasion Mr. Dublar made the following Verses.

*On the repairing the Picture of King CHARLES,
 London in Scania, June 18th, being the day
 in which his Majesty entered into the thirty-
 seventh year of his age.*

*In reparam Effigiem CAROLINAM. Lon-
 dini Scanorum, die xviii. Junij, trigesimo
 septimo natali augustissimi CAROLI. Anno
 1718.*

Vidit ut alma Venus divi simul omina vultus,
 CAROLE Magne, Tui condecorare polum:
 Illico descendens eadem hîc dissecta refecit,
 Ne non in Cupro staret Imago tua.
 Quam colerent Nymphæ, Regina, & quotquot
 Amori
 Dant operam, Castæ turba serena Deæ.
 Quam colerent Populi, Reges, Heroës, Amici,
 Æterni testes laudis in orbe tuæ,

Quam

Quam Tibi stas geminus, quam Candidus ore,
Gradivo

Par animis, animi par bonitate, Jovi!
Nulla tuam faciem notat, hac medicante, Ci-
catrrix,

Hac velut Æneæ nulla medente femur.

Kraftius obstupuit, velut alter Iapis, hiulcum

Eximia vulnus consolidante Dea.

Pictoris, Medicique, manum, circumdata nimbo,

Herois gemini rexit amica Venus.

MR. RONNOW DUBLAR

There can be no stronger proof of the great modesty of *Charles XII.* than the following story. His Majesty ordered General *Schwerin* to write from *Norway* to Mr. *Dublar*, to compose an Inscription for the Monument of Colonel *Claussen*, who was a Native of the Dutchy of *Luxembourg*, and died at *Norway*. Mr. *Dublar*, on this occasion, added at the end of the Epitaph the two following Verses.

Virtuti pretium scit ponere CAROLUS, Orbis
Gloria, Virtutis fama, Corona, Jubat.

Harsbergæ, die

22 Sept. 1718.

When General *Schwerin* presented this Epitaph to the King in *Norway*, he cut off those two Verses. An instance of modesty, which the zeal of Mr. *Dublar*, for his Prince's glory, hath recorded in the following lines,

*In abscissum abs Rege Distichon in Inscriptione
positum Clauseniana.*

Forfice dum truncas mea, CAROLE, carmina,
totus

Forfice damnato, justior orbis ait.
Virtutis pretium, scit ponere CAROLUS orbis
Gloria, Virtutis fama, Corona, Jubar.
Non sic effigiem poteris delere modestus
Heroicæ mentis, CAROLE Magne, tuæ,
Justior Orbis habet jus in te maxime Regum,
Nec minimo vatum jus mihi suave deest.

*Londini Scanorum, die
8 Oct. 1718.*

Magnus RONNOW DUBLAR.

The End of the Third VOLUME.

INDEX.

I N D E X.

The Numeral Letters signify the Volume, the Figures the Pages.

A.

- A** *Dercaß*, Captain, made prisoner by the *Muscovites*, I. 47.
- Adlerfelt*, *Gustavus*, Chamberlain to *Charles XII.* King of *Sweden*, the danger to which he is expos'd at the siege of *Thorn*, I. 238. The Letter written to him by *Mr. de Wachslager* on the election of King *Stanislaus*, 318. His Letter to a reigning Duke of the Empire, II. 376. Another Letter to the same, 381. His relation of the battle of *Holowfsin*, July 4, 1708, between the troops of the King of *Sweden* and the Czar of *Muscovy*, III. 40. A third Letter written by him to a certain Duke, 60. He is killed by a cannon-ball in the battle of *Pultowa*, by the side of the King's litter, 124.
- Egidii*, a Saxon Colonel, is killed by the Starost *Gembiski*, I. 193.
- Ablefeld* Count, Stadtholder or Governour of the Duchy of *Schleswick*, by the King of *Denmark's* order, conducts four Saxon regiments to join the *Danes*, I. 31.
- Albedybl*, Colonel, attack'd and taken prisoner by the *Russians*, III. 101.
- Allart*, Lieutenant-General, taken prisoner at the battle of *Narva*, I. 56. Is exchanged against Lieutenant-General *Arwid Horn*, II. 116.
- Almonde*, Admiral, a Fleet commanded by him in the Service of *Charles XII.* King of *Sweden*, I. 29.
- Alt-Ranstadt*, a seat in *Saxony*, II. 266. Treaty negotiated there, 270.
- Andres*, *Apostol*, Chief of the *Cossiques*, his Death, II. 227.
- Ankerhielm John*, a Captain of the *Swedish* Guards, his Death, III. 28.
- Arnfeld*, *Charles*, makes an attempt on the Isle of *Retusari*, II. 119.

Artfchelowitts, Prince of *Melita*. See *Melita*, the Princess of.

Avaux, Count of, leaves the Court of *Sweden*, where he had resided in quality of Embassador Extraordinary from the most Christian King, I. 12.

Augustus Frederick, King of *Poland*, introduces *Saxon* Troops into that Kingdom, and employs them for the Conquest of *Livonia*, I. 12. Makes an alliance with the Czar *Peter*, I. 13. What he did to hide from his *Swedish* Majesty the alliance he contracted to his prejudice, I. 15. He publishes a Manifesto, to justify his Enterprize on *Livonia*, I. 23. He invests *Riga*, 33. And lays the Country round about under Contribution, *ibid*. He orders certain Troops to advance before *Kokenhusen*, and repairs thither himself with his Army, 43. He has an interview with the Czar, 66. Convenes a Diet at *Warsaw*, 120. He repairs to *Cracow*, 132. He loses a battle, and returns to *Cracow* with the remains of his Army, 157. Sends back Baron *Sack*, a *Swedish* prisoner, with proposals of peace, which were rejected, 164. He repairs to *Sandomir*, to convene the Nobles and Grandees of the Realm, 172. And from thence to *Warsaw*, 173. Releases a *Swedish* Lieutenant, and certain soldiers, *ibid*. He assembles a Diet at *Warsaw*, and why, 176. The measures he takes to win over the Nobility and Senators he had assembled at *Mariembourg*, 201. The Oath sworn to him by the Crown Army, according to a form by him appointed, 202. Articles propos'd by him to the Assembly at *Mariembourg*, 204. He repairs from *Warsaw* to *Lublin*, where a General Diet was held, 232. Credentials presented to him by the Ministers of *England* and *Holland*, *ibid*. Articles proposed by him to the Diet, 233. Sends an Embassador to the Czar, 281. Succours demanded by him of his hereditary dominions, 282. He declares null and void all the resolutions of the Assembly at *Warsaw*, who declared the Throne of *Poland* vacant, 284. He causes the Princes *James* and *Constantine Sobieski* to be seized, *ibid*. He gives advice of it to the Emperor, and at the same time orders a Memorial to be delivered in to the Diet of *Ratisbonne*, to justify his conduct in that respect, 285. He concludes a treaty with the Czar, 289. Effects of that treaty in the Assembly at *Warsaw*, *ibid*. He is in danger of being taken prisoner, 294. He convenes a part of the Nobility at *Sandomir*, and declares all those rebels and enemies to their Country, who had sign'd the Confederacy at *Warsaw*, 302. The new oath which he takes

to that Assembly, 303. An Extract from the Articles of the Alliance which he concluded with the Czar, II. 28. Receives new subsidies from the States of *Saxony*, 31. The rencounter between him, the King of *Sweden*, and King *Stanislaus*, who were on horseback on the banks of the *Vistula*, 61. Is press'd to return into *Poland*, 116. Publishes the reasons of his delay, 128. He obtains a brief from the Pope, forbidding the Archbishop and Bishops, from proceeding to, or assisting at the Coronation of King *Stanislaus*, *ibid.* The consequences it produc'd, 130. The Nobles of *Great Poland* protest against it, *ibid.* *Augustus* repairs to his army *incog.* 171. Joins the Czar, 172. Institutes the Order of the *White-Eagle*, *ibid.* And bestows it on several Grandees of *Poland*, and *Russian* Generals, *ibid.* Has a misunderstanding with the Czar, 173. Quits *Grodno*, 190. What quantity of money, and number of men he drew out of *Saxony*, from the beginning of the war, to the entrance of the King of *Sweden* into *Saxony*, 253. He demands a peace of that Prince without consulting the Czar, 257. Commissaries named by him for that purpose, *ibid.* His treaty with the King of *Sweden*, 263. Wins the battle of *Kalis*, 293. The letter which he wrote to *Charles XII.* 295. He makes semblance at *Warsaw*, of holding a grand Council, and continuing the war, *ibid.* He quits *Warsaw* suddenly, and repairs to *Leipzig*, 307. His interview with the King of *Sweden*, *ibid.* He repairs with that Prince to *Alt-Ranstadt*, *ibid.* And sups with him, 308. He returns to *Leipzig*, after having given the necessary orders for setting at liberty the Princes *Sobieski*, 308. He restores the trophies taken from the *Swedes*, during the war, *ibid.* He receives a visit from the King of *Sweden* at *Leipzig*, *ibid.* A medal struck upon the occasion of this interview, 309. He causes the peace to be published in all the churches of *Saxony*, 313. He meets King *Stanislaus* at *Leipzig*, 314. He invites the King of *Sweden* to a hunting, 315. Jealousies it occasioned, *ibid.* Surrenders the Crown-Regalia to the *Swedes*, 318. And *Patkul*, 319. The Letter which he wrote to King *Stanislaus*, 320. He causes his Plenipotentiaries *Imhoff* and *Pfingsten* to be arrested, and why, 331. Is surprized with a visit from the King of *Sweden*, 361. An explanation of the unjust proceedings of King *Augustus*, with regard to the States of *Poland*, which gave place to the grand Confederacy against him, III. 125. The Treaty concluded between him and the *Polish* party, called *Rolloscz*, 126. Representations

presentations made to him by the Deputies of the Diet of Skroda, 131.

B.

- B** *Agge*, a Swedish Captain, his Death, II. 148.
Baligni, Colonel, renders himself master of the castle of Gottorp, I. 25.
Bandomir, a Polish Partizan, surprizes the Swedish Dragoons, near *Sealburg*, I. 160. Defeats Lieutenant-Colonel *Koningsheim*, and takes him prisoner, 248.
Bannier, Baron, throws himself into *Tonningue* with four thousand men, and defends that place with great bravery, I. 25.
Barkmann, the death of that officer, III. 28.
Baturin, the capital of the country of *Mazeppa*, taken sword-in-hand by the *Muscovites*, III. 72. Cruelties they exercis'd there, 73. It is burnt to ashes, *ibid.* The air round about it infected with the stench of the dead bodies, *ibid.*
Baturlin, *Iwan Iwanowitz*, Major-General, taken prisoner at the battle of *Narva*, I. 6.
Bavaria, Elector of, nominated to be King of Poland, I. 297.
Bauer, General, surprizes *Mittau*, II. 136. Commits great cruelties there, *ibid.* Is detach'd from the Czar's Army to harass that of the *Swedes*, 209. He meets with a repulse, 210. He orders *Te Deum* to be sung, as if victorious, 211. Is guilty of great cruelties in *Livonia*, III. 12. Wounded, 58.
Bebrn, a Swedish Captain, his death, II. 148.
Bereza, the pass of, forced by the King of Sweden, II. 220.
Bergenhielm, the Baron of, Chancellor to the Court of Sweden, is sent Ambassador to *Muscovy*, I. 13.
Bernstadt, the Duchess of, repairs to *Rawitz*, where she finds the King of Sweden, II. 132.
Bevern, a Prince of that House, waits on *Charles XII.* at *Rawitz*, II. 132.
Beust, Lieutenant-General, is made prisoner by the King of Sweden, I. 220. He is presented to that Prince, and is surprized to find he was taken by the King himself, whom he did not know, 221. The gracious reception he met with from his Majesty, 224.
Bielke, Countess, is charg'd with the education of *Charles XII.* I. 2.

Bildstein,

- Bildstein*, Captain, Governor of the fort of *Cobrun*, is taken prisoner with 50 of his garison, I. 18.
- Blaman*, Mr. Captain-Engineer, his death, I. 81.
- Blumberg*, Colonel of the Czar's guard, taken prisoner at the battle of *Narva*, I. 56.
- Bonac*, Marquis of, offers to the King of *Sweden* the mediation of the most Christian King, for re-establishing the peace of the North, I. 95. Falls into the hands of *Oginfski*, who kills his Valet de Chambre, and treats him as a prisoner of war, 187. The pains which he took to engage *Siniawski* in the party of King *Stanislaus*, III. 9.
- Bondellas*, Lieutenant-Colonel, killed, II. 145.
- Bonde*, Count, is sent in 1697, by the Regency of *Sweden*, to the *Hague*, and why, I. 5. His voyage to *London*, to deliver up to the King of *England* the Ensigns of the Order of the Garter, worn by *Charles XIth*, I. 10.
- Booi*, Colonel, blows up the castle of *Kookenhusen*, and abandons the place, I. 83.
- Bossenwald*, Baron, is sent by the Court of *France* into *Saxony*, to wait upon the King of *Sweden*, II. 325.
- Brandenbourg*, Elector of, is publickly acknowledg'd King of *Prussia*, by *Charles XII.* King of *Sweden*.
- Brandt*, General, the reputation which he acquir'd, I. 173. He alarms the garison of *Pinschorw*, and makes a pretence to take it by open force, 178. The advantage he gain'd, 179. He attacks a *Swedish* garison, commanded by Major *Charles Creutz*, 245. Takes *Latorwice*, II. 47. He makes himself master of *Warsaw*, *ibid.* Invests *Poznania*, 89.
- Brandt*, Lieutenant-Colonel, is killed in a sally which he made upon the *Muscovites* at the siege of *Dorpt*, I. 334.
- Breslau*, the City of, condemn'd to pay two thousand crowns, and why, II. 349.
- Bridge, a strange one thrown over the river *Bug*, by *Charles XII.* II. 182.
- Broms*, Major, carries off a *Swedish* party, I. 265.
- Bronitz*, the Starost *Pisdziski*, is elected Marshal of the Confederacy, I. 280. Opens the Diet at *Warsaw* with a speech, II. 131. Is rechosen Marshal, *ibid.* Fights as a voluntier under General *Nieroth*, 149.
- Bruchner*, Lieutenant-Colonel, is detach'd with certain troops to give chace to certain parties of *Oginfski*, I. 201. The advantage he gains, *ibid.* Repulses a *Lithuanian* party, which had attack'd him, *ibid.*
- Brummer*, a *Swedish* Captain, his death, II. 148.

Brun,

- Brun*, a *Swedish* Captain, his death, II. 148.
Budberg, Colonel, Governor of the fort of *Dunamund*, is oblig'd to surrender that place to the *Saxons*, I. 25.
Burensholdt, Lieutenant-Colonel, obtains the regiment of *Ostrogothian* cavalry, commanded before by General *Morner*, I. 281. Is wounded, II. 74.
Busanville, a *French* Captain, in the service of *Russia*, mortally wounded, II. 221. His remarkable joy to see the King of *Sweden* before he died, *ibid*.

C.

- C***Anitz*, Colonel, refuses to deliver up *Dunamund*, I. 102. Imprisons several inhabitants of *Thorn*, 253. And is graciously receiv'd by the King of *Sweden*, 262.
Canutzon, *Charles*, money left by that Prince at *Dantzic*, on his return to *Sweden*, I. 300.
Carlewitz, Major-General to King *Augustus*, is sent to *Moscow*, and why, I. 14. He is killed at the siege of *Fort Dunamunde*, 24.
Carmaillon, Major-General, renders himself master of the city of *Sleswic*, I. 25.
Cederhielm, Secretary, demands of King *Augustus* the accomplishment of certain Articles of the Treaty of *Alt-Ranstadt*, II. 317.
Charles XI. King of *Sweden*, his marriage with *Ulrica Eleonora*, daughter of *Frederic III.* King of *Denmark*, I. 2. Dies, 4.
Charles XII. King of *Sweden*, Time of his Birth, I. 2. Trusted to the care of the Countess *de Bielke*, relict of the Treasurer of *Sweden*, *ibid*. Lords appointed for his governours, *ibid*. On what occasions he began to discover the first marks of a genius for war, *ibid*. He loses the Queen his mother, in 1693, I. 3. And the King his Father in 1697, I. 4. The Queen Dowager, his grandmother, declared Regent, *ibid*. He furnishes troops to the Duke of *Holstein*, I. 8. He is declar'd Major, I. 10. And crown'd, *ibid*. He renews the alliances contracted with the powers in friendship with the crown of *Sweden*, *ibid*. He sends an Ambassador to *Muscovy*, I. 13. The danger he incurr'd in hunting the bear, 21. He sets out from *Stockholm* for *Carlsron*, to hasten the fitting out his fleet, 26. He repairs to *Malmoe*, the rendezvous of twelve thousand men, *ibid*. He embarks on board the fleet, 29. He forms a design to make a descent on *Zeeland*, 34. He orders
twelve

twelve thousand men to march towards *Landſcron*, and repairs thither from *Malmoe* himſelf, *ibid.* He attacks the *Danes*, and defeats them, 36. Letters which he order'd to be ſpread through *Zeeland* in favour of the inhabitants, 37. He repairs to *Pernau*, and from thence to *Ryen*, 45. He obtains a complete victory over the *Muſcovites*, near *Narva*, 52. He quits *Narva* with his army, and repairs to *Lais*, an old caſtle, fix leagues from *Dorpt*, 61. Receives a petition in verſe from the *Swediſh Ladies*, 69. The advantage which he obtains over the *Saxons*, 78. He takes a reſolution to dethrone King *Auguſtus*, 86. His Letters to the Republic of *Poland*, and the Primate, *ibid.* He gives audience to the Deputies of *Lithuania*, 87. The answers to the Letters which he had written to the Republic of *Poland*, and the Primate, 88. Travels through part of *Poland* alone, 95. Purges his camp of leud women, 118. He gives audience to the Embaſſadors of *Poland*, 129. The Maniſeſto which he publiſh'd, 133. His arrival at *Prague*, near *Warſaw*, 134. Gives audience to the Primate, 139. His departure from *Warſaw*, and his march towards *Cracow*, 143. The victory which he obtain'd over the *Saxons* at *Clischorw*, 157. Makes his way through the enemy piſtol in hand, 166. Takes *Cracow* in perſon, 168. Breaks his left thigh, and how, 181. His Letter to the Primate, 198. Takes Lieutenant-General *Beuſt* priſoner with his own hand, 120. The danger he was expos'd to at the ſiege of *Thorn*, 237, and 250. He renders himſelf maſter of that place, 262. Whether 'tis true, that a *Saxon* officer called *Muhlheim*, quitted *Thorn* during the ſiege, to aſſaſſinate him, 263. He publickly acknowledges the Elector of *Brandenbourg* as King of *Pruſſia*, 264. His enterprize at *Elbing*, 273. He condemns that city to pay large ſums, and why, 275. Repairs to General *Rheinſchild*, attended by only one page, 276. He propoſes Prince *James Sobieſki* to the *Poles* for their King, 278. The Letter writ to him by the Queen of *England*, to diſpoſe him to a reconciliation with King *Auguſtus*, 284. He ſends orders to General *Rheinſchild* to march towards *Cracow*, to ſurprize that Prince, 285. Gives audience to Count *Stanislaus Leſciński*, 292. Orders his commiſſaries to open a treaty with the Republic of *Poland*, concerning the depoſing of King *Auguſtus*, 296. Gives audience to the Cardinal Primate Prince *Lubomirski*, &c. 311. He congratulates King *Stanislaus* on his election, 317. He forms the ſiege of *Leopold*, and makes himſelf maſter of the place, II. 43.

His

His rencounter in company with King *Stanislaus*, with King *Augustus*, 61. Throws a bridge over the *Vistula*, which breaks while he is upon it, *ibid.* He attacks General *Schulenberg*, 69. The danger to which he expos'd himself at a fire in the city of *Ravitz*, 125. Pardons a man who confess'd himself to be hir'd to assassinate him, 127. Passes the *Niemen* on the ice, and charges the *Russians* on the other side in person, 186. Publishes a Manifesto address'd to the *Lithuanians*, 194. In extreme danger of being drown'd, 213. And sav'd by the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, *ibid.* In danger of being killed by a waggon, 214. Forces the pass of *Bereza*, 220. Compliments paid him by a dying *French* officer, 221. Declares he has found his *non plus ultra*, 225. He steals from his camp in the night, and rides 20 leagues, accompanied by the Prince of *Wurtemberg* only, 229. His dangerous passage over a lake on his return, 231. Takes a resolution to enter *Saxony*, 239. His birth-day celebrated without any distinction, or pomp, 240. Makes several promotions, *ibid.* Falls in with a party of *Poles*, and in making his escape loses his way in the night, 244. His declaration in favour of the inhabitants of that Electorate, 259. On what conditions he consents to make peace with *Augustus*, 262. He receives the Deputies of the city of *Leipzig*, 264. He repairs to *Alt-Ranstadt*, 266. He goes to see the field of battle at *Lutzen*, where *Gustavus Adolphus* had so gloriously resign'd his life for the liberty of *Germany*, 268. His saying on that occasion, 269. His treaty of peace with *Augustus*, 270. The truce which he publish'd at *Alt-Ranstadt*, 282. His ordinance enjoining the most severe and exact discipline among his troops, during their residence in *Saxony*, 284. Exemplary punishments which he inflict'd on his entrance into that country, 288. Is complimented by foreign ministers, 289. His extreme moderation on being inform'd General *Mardefeld* had lost the battle of *Kalis*, 295. The embassy which he sent after the peace of *Alt-Ranstadt*, to felicitate King *Stanislaus* on his full possession of the throne, without a competitor, 299. Proposals which he caus'd to be made to the States of *Saxony*, 300. His interview with King *Augustus*, 307. He sups with that Prince, 308. Is complimented by all the *Saxon* Princes, 313. Declines an invitation of hunting with King *Augustus*, and why, 316. He gives audience to the Duke of *Marlborough*, 326. He threatens to invade the Emperor's hereditary dominions, 347. His answer to a Letter

- Letter written to him by the Queen of Great-Britain, 347. He redresses the religious grievances of *Silesia*, 350. He quits *Saxony*, 360, &c. He enters suddenly into *Dresden*, to take leave of King *Augustus*, 361. He gives audience to the *Prussian* Minister, 373. He gives audience to a *Turkish* Envoy, 374. And to the Marquis *de Rochegude*, Envoy to that Prince from the *Evangelic Cantons*, 375. Is attack'd in *Grodno*, III. 3. He rejects the Czar's proposal for an exchange of prisoners on both sides, 13. The reasons which induc'd him to enter *Russia*, 16. Why, before his departure from *Radoskiewice* he set at liberty all the *Muscovite* prisoners, *ibid*. He separates from King *Stanislaus*, who returns into *Poland* to reduce the Confederates to reason, 17. Wins the battle of *Holowfsin*, 28. Passes the *Dezna*, 71. He receives a musket-shot at the siege of *Pultowa*, which penetrating the boot on his left foot, passed through his toes, and out at his heel, 117. His patience in undergoing the operations on that occasion, 118. Verses in his praise, 143, 150. He tumbles with his horse into a ditch, on the back of the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, 156. Danger which he run at the siege of *Thorn*, 157. Kills Mr. *Hard* by accident, 160.
- Charles Leopold*, a Prince of *Mecklenbourg*, waits on *Charles XII.* at *Ravitz*, II. 132.
- Chilkow*, the Knees *Andrew-Jacobowitz*, sent by the Czar in quality of Embassador to *Charles XII.* I. 41. And upon what business, *ibid*.
- Christian-Albert*, Duke, is arrested in 1675, at *Renæbourg*, a *Danish* fortress, by order of the Court of *Denmark*, I. 6. Is oblig'd to renounce all the rights he had enjoy'd, *ibid*. He abandons his country, and retires to *Hambourg*, I. 7. Is restor'd to the full possession of his estates, and all the rights of sovereignty, *ibid*.
- Christian V.* King of *Denmark*, sends in 1697, Plenipotentiaries to the *Hague*, and why, I. 4. He would take the advantage of the Minority of *Charles XII.* to oppress *Frederic*, Duke of *Schleswick-Holstein*, 5. He attacks the territories of the Duke of *Holstein*, 8. And sends Count *Reventlau* to *Vienna*, with his complaints against the Duke, 17.
- Clischow*, the battle of, I. 146. The numbers, &c. of the dead and wounded, both of the *Suedes* and *Saxons*, 157.
- Cobrun*, the magazine of, blown up by the *Saxons*, I. 81.
- Commentoffki*, surprizes a detachment of the garison of *Elbing*, in the city of *Mariembourg*, which, after some dispute

- dispute, is oblig'd to surrender themselves prisoners of war, II. 157.
- Copeies*, a sort of *Tartarian* pikes so call'd, I. 166.
- Conti*, Prince of, propos'd to be King of *Poland*, after the depofal of King *Augustus*, I. 297.
- Conallen*, the Town of, a smart skirmish there, I. 120.
- Cossaques* of the *Ukrain*, their dependance on the *Poles*, excite a revolt, and massacre their Chiefs, I. 184. They enter into *Podolia*, and put to the sword all the Lords who fall into their hands, *ibid.* That rebellion fomented by the Czar, and King *Augustus*, *ibid.* Troops sent by the Republic to reduce the rebels, *ibid.*
- Cossaques*, pretend to have been for ever free, III. 76. Tribute which they formerly paid to the *Poles*, *ibid.* Why they quarrel'd with them, and put themselves under the protection of the Czar, *ibid.* Different sorts of *Cossaques*, 77. Character of the *Zaporovian* *Cossaques*, *ibid.* And the *Cossaques* of the *Don*, or *Tanais*, *ibid.* Religion of the *Cossaques* which inhabit the cities of the *Ukraine*, *ibid.* The election of their Grand General, or *Hettman*, *ibid.* How that General levies his troops, *ibid.* From whence the name of *Cossaque* is derived, 78. Their common drink, *ibid.* How their houses are built, *ibid.*
- Cracow*, the City of, describ'd, I. 167. Taken by the *Swedens*, 169. To what the inhabitants were condemn'd, 170. The castle burnt down, 177.
- Cranenburg*, Baron, sent from *Holland* to offer the King of *Sweden* the mediation of the Republic, to re-establish the peace of the North, I. 95.
- Craffau*, Colonel, sends a detachment towards *Pietrekow*, to raise contributions, I. 179. Escapes from the battle of *Kalis* with a party of horse to *Pofnania*, II. 293.
- Creutz*, Baron *Charles*, Major, is attack'd by General *Brandt*, I. 245. Is made a Colonel, and obtains the regiment of Horse-Guards, before commanded by General *Spens*, 281. Blocks up *Lacowitz*, II. 216. Defeats a body of *Russians* and *Cossaques* at *Kleisk*, 226. Carries *Lacowitz*, 228.
- Crispin*, Mr. *Wairwode de Witepsk*, is sent by the Republic of *Poland* in quality of Ambassador to the King of *Sweden*, I. 129.
- Cronbielm*, Lieutenant-Colonel, killed at the battle of *Fraustad*, II. 204.
- Cronbiort*, a *Swedish* Major-General, sets out to post himself with six thousand men on the frontiers of *Ingria*, I. 61.

- I. 61. Is attack'd by twenty-five thousand *Russians*, 239. The fine retreat he made, 240.
Cronstot, the Castle of, built by the Czar, II. 117.
Groy, the Duke of, made prisoner at the battle of *Narva*, I. 53. What he said to Mr. *de Guiscard*, in speaking of that battle, 57. His death, *ibid*.
Cruus, Colonel, the advantage he obtain'd, I. 136. Defeats a party of *Cossiques*, III. 85.
Czar of Muscovy. See *Peter I*.
Czarowitz, the son of *Peter I*. repairs to *Leopol*, II. 336. Is sent back to *Moscow*, and why, 337.

D.

- D** *Abldorf*, Colonel, is wounded and taken prisoner, I. 166. Is set at liberty, 183. Rencounter in which he distinguish'd himself, and was dangerously wounded, II. 169.
Dalberg, Count, Field-Marshal and Governour of *Livonia*, measures which he took against the enterprizes of the enemies to *Sweden*, I. 19. He defends *Riga*, which King *Augustus* had invested, 24.
Danaw, the death of that officer, III. 28.
Danger of opening subterranean magazines of corn in *Lithuania*, &c. II. 192.
Dantzic, Misunderstanding between that city and the King of *Sweden*, I. 299. That Prince orders certain regiments to march thither, and approaches it in person, *ibid*. That city renounces its allegiance to King *Augustus*, and engages to give no assistance to the enemies of *Sweden*, *ibid*. Pays an old debt, contracted in the 15th century, in the reign of *Charles Canutson*, 300. Conditions which General *Ronne* propos'd to that city, in behalf of the Czar, II. 339. The inhabitants oblige that General to retire with his troops, 340. In what manner they appeas'd the King of *Sweden*, who had taken some umbrage to their conduct, 379.
Deelenwaw, Colonel, is taken prisoner at the battle of *Narva*, I. 56.
Dezna, the river of, passed by the *Swedes*, III. 71.
Dieke, a *Saxon* Lieutenant-Colonel, his death, II. 148.
Dog. See *Pompey*.
Dobua, Count, sent from *Prussia* to the King of *Sweden*, and receives public audience of that Prince in the open field before his tent, II. 373.

Dolgeruki,

- Dolgoruki*, the Kneés *Jacob-Feodorowitcz*, Commissary-General of war, made prisoner by the *Swedes* at the battle of *Narwa*, I. 55. Sent as the Czar's Ambassador to the Diet of *Leopol*, II. 335. And killed, III. 39.
- Dompri*, Major-General, attacks Major-General *Labatte*, and defeats him, I. 28.
- Dorpt*, the City of, surrender'd to the Czar, I. 336. Articles of the capitulation, *ibid*. Its inhabitants carried into slavery, III. 111.
- Drabans*, their extraordinary valour, III. 30.
- Duker*, Mr. Aid-de-Camp General to the King of *Sweden*, is sent to the city of *Thorn* to enter into conference with the besieged, I. 261. He is made a Colonel, and obtains a regiment, 280. His expedition to the city of *Wilna*, II. 209. Beats General *Ronne*, III. 82. And Brigadier *Carrupal*, 94.
- Dunamunde*, the fort of, besieged by the *Saxons*, I. 23. Oblig'd to surrender, 28. And upon what conditions, *ibid*. Retaken by the *Swedes*, 102.
- Dzieliniski*, Archbishop of *Leopol*, offers to crown King *Stanislaus*, II. 154. Appointed Primate of *Poland* by that Prince, 171. He is surpriz'd by a party of *Muscovites*, commanded by General *Ronne*, 336. He is conducted to *Kiow*, where he is thrown into prison, *ibid*.

E.

- E** *Hrenschants*, Lieutenant-Colonel, his relation of a victory obtain'd by the *Swedes* over the *Saxons*, I. 146.
- Ekeblad*, Lieutenant-Colonel, is made a Colonel, and obtains a regiment of foot, I. 280.
- Ekebielm*, a *Swedish* Captain, his death, II. 148.
- Elbing*, Conditions impos'd on that city for having deferred admitting a *Swedish* garison, I. 275.
- Embach* in *Livonia*, the fight of, related, I. 161.
- Ensign*, which the *Russians* anciently used, and follow'd with a kind of respect and devotion, I. 45.
- Epigram*, the Countess of *Koning smark's*, on the King of *Sweden*, III. 143.
- Eppinger*, Colonel, wounded and taken prisoner, I. 81.

F.

- F** *Agorskiold*, Baron, Captain in the King of *Sweden's* regiment, killed, I. 147.
- Ferson*, a *Swedish* Colonel, taken prisoner at *Narwa*, II. 22.
- Flemming*,

Flemming, Baron, engages in a strict friendship with *Maurice Welling*, Ambassador from *Sweden* at the Court of *Warsaw*, to be the better able to deceive him, I. 16. His Letters to all the subjects of *Liwonian*, to justify the conduct of King *Augustus* his master, 19. He marches to *Riga* to seize that place, 20. He attacks the fort of *Cobrun*, and carries it sword-in-hand, *ibid.* He attacks the fort of *Dunamund*, 23. And carries it, 25. His apologetical extract touching the first irruption of the Saxons into *Liwonian*, III. 131.

Fort, Colonel *le*, taken prisoner at the battle of *Narva*, I. 56.

Fraustadt, the battle of, II. 201.

Frederick IV. Duke of *Holstein*, succeeds his father in 1694, I. 7.

Frederick IV. King of *Denmark*, succeeds *Christian V.* his father, I. 17. Declares against *Sweden*, 18. Gives orders to the Duke of *Wurtemberg-Newstadt*, his General in Chief, to enter into the Estates of the Duke of *Holstein*, 22. The Manifesto which he published to justify his proceeding, 22. He rejects all propositions of peace, 27. Requests a suspension of arms, and is refus'd, 31.

Frederickstadt, taken by the *Danes* sword-in-hand, I. 25.

Fritski, Colonel, killed at the siege of *Wieprik*, III. 92.

Frolich, Baron, a *Swedish* Lieutenant-General, made General of foot, and Governour of *Riga*, I. 281.

Frommerie, a *Swedish* Captain, his expedition, I. 265.

Funk, Mr. Captain of dragoons, is made prisoner, I. 248. And obtains his liberty, 267. Defeats a party of *Cossagues*, III. 85.

G.

G *Aleski*, the Waiwode, is sent by King *Augustus* into *Sweden*, and why, I. 15. And to *Denmark*, 16. Taken prisoner at *Leopol*, II. 44. And struck by Count *Stenbock*, *ibid.*

Galeski, Palatine of *Kalis*, is made Governour of the city of *Leopol*, II. 39. He defends that place against the *Swedes* who besiege it, 41. Taking of that city, 43. He receives two blows from Count *Stenbock*, and why, 44.

Gallowin, a *Muscovite* General, killed, III. 29.

Gallowin, Brigadier, taken prisoner, III. 112. Attempts to escape, 113.

Gemanerthoff, the battle of, II. 138.

- Gembiski*, the Starost, kills with his own hand *Ægidii*, a Saxon Colonel, and defeats his troops, I. 193.
- Goertz*, Baron, Privy Counsellor and Envoy-Extraordinary from the Duke of *Holstein-Gottorp*, appears at *Alt-Ranstadt*, where the Court of *Sweden* then was, II. 289. Confidence repos'd in him by the Duke of *Marlborough*, 329.
- Golswin*, General *Affemon Michalowitz*, is made prisoner at the battle of *Narva*, I. 55.
- Gordon*, *Jacob*, made prisoner at the battle of *Narva*, I. 57.
- Gortz*, Colonel, obtains an advantage, 261. Defeats a French party, 268. Raises a regiment, 314. His death, 368.
- Gottha*, the Prince of *Saxe*, follows for some time the *Swedish* army, and has a quarrel with a Colonel, II. 132. He takes leave of the King of *Sweden*, and goes into the Imperial Service, *ibid.* His death, *ibid.*
- Gotthe*, Mr. Brother to Count *Lillieroth*, sent by *Charles XII.* in quality of Ambassador to the Czar, I. 13.
- Gottorp*, the castle of, surrenders upon Composition to Colonel *Baligni*, I. 25.
- Grotb*, Baron, repairs from *Hanover* to *Saxony*, and why, II. 349.
- Grotbusen*, Lieutenant-Colonel, repulses a party of *Russians*, III. 48.
- Guiscard*, Count, arrives at *Stockholm*, in order to reside there in quality of Ambassador from the most Christian King, I. 11. How he insinuated himself into the good graces of *Charles XII.* who admitted him into all his parties of pleasure, 12. He inclines to busy himself in making remonstrances to that Prince, *ibid.* And quits *Sweden* without an audience of leave, *ibid.*
- Gulitz*, Colonel, made prisoner at the battle of *Narva*, I. 57.
- Gyllensierne*, Baron, a *Swedish* General, repairs with several regiments of the country of *Bremen* to the army of the allies of the King of *Sweden*, I. 27. He receives orders to enter into *Poland* with an army of twelve thousand men, which he had assembled near *Stetin*, 143. He arrives at *Cracow*, 176. From whence he repairs to the German Provinces conquer'd by the *Swedes*, to watch the motions of the neighbouring Powers, and put those Provinces in a state of defence, 177. Wounded, III. 28.
- Gyllensierne*, Count, is entrusted with the charge of the land-forces, after the death of *Charles the XIth*, I. 4.
- Gyllen-*

Gyllenstolpe, Count, succeeds Count *Lindskiold*, as Governour of *Charles XII.* I. 2. He is charg'd with the administration of justice after the death of *Charles XI.* 4.

Gyllenstolpe, Count *E.* is kill'd at the siege of *Wicprik*, III. 92.

H.

H *Ammelsierna*, Captain, attacks a *Lithuanian* party, I. 195.

Hamilton, Lieutenant-General, takes *Olesna* sword-in-hand, III. 98.

Han of the *Tartars*, his Letter to the King of *Sweden*, III. 122.

Haras, or studs of horses, in great numbers in the *Ukrain*, III. 78.

Hard, *Thuro*, Adjutant-General, kill'd by the side of the King of *Sweden*, III. 42.

Hard, Mr. kill'd by the King of *Sweden*, III. 160.

Heilberg, Capital of the Bishoprick of *Warmia*, how that city is built, &c. III. 159.

Helmers, Colonel, killed, I. 80.

Hermelin, Mr. gives the Deputies of *Cracow* written promises that the *Swedish* troops shall observe an exact discipline, I. 167. Is made a Chancery-Counsellor, II. 179.

Heron, the Marquis of, receives audience of the King of *Sweden*, I. 143. Is arrested at *Warsaw* by order of King *Augustus*, 186. And conducted to *Thorn*, and thence to the borders of *France*, *ibid.* Satisfaction which the most Christian King took for that outrage, 187.

Hesse-Darmstadt, Prince of, killed, III. 58.

Hettman, the name of the Great General of the *Cossagues*, III. 77. Officers which he has under him, *ibid.* How he levies his troops when he takes the field, *ibid.* The marks of his dignity, *ibid.*

Hieim, Adjutant-General, wounded, II. 41.

Hierta, *Class*, his death, III. 28.

Holmer, the fort of, taken by the *Danes*, I. 25.

Hokenshyot, a *Swedish* Sea-Captain, blows himself up, together with his ship, rather than surrender to the *Russians*, I. 162.

Holowzin, the battle of, (*July*, 4 1708. between the forces of the King of *Sweden*, and the *Czar*) Particulars of that action, III. 21.

Holstein, *Frederic*, Duke of *Schleswick*, enters into strict engagements with the Crown of *Sweden*, I. 5.

Höfstein-Gottorp, Frederick, Duke of, succeeds his father in 1694, I. 7. His marriage with the Princess-Royal *Hedwige-Sophia*, eldest sister of *Charles XII.* of Sweden, I. 11. He is made Generalissimo of the Swedish troops in Germany, *ibid.* He repairs to his own dominions, with the Princess his spouse, *ibid.* He prepares to defend himself against the enterprizes of the Court of Denmark, 16. He repairs to Sweden, and in what manner he was received, 18. Peace concluded at *Trawendahl*, very advantageously for the Duke, 39. Joins the King of Sweden at *Neuguth*, 83. His death, 153. Ceremonies preparatory to his funeral, 176. His corps transported to *Schleswick* to be interr'd, 177.

Holstein, the Duchess of, sister to *Charles XII.* brought to bed of a son, I. 27. Her death, III. 122.

Honey, abundance of it in *Lithuania*, III. 13. The use made of it there, *ibid.*

Horn, Baron, defends *Narva* against the attempts of the *Russians*, I. 44. And a second time against the Czar in person, 307.

Horn, Baron, reprimanded by the Czar for sending a rude answer to his summons, II. 27. Taken prisoner, III. 23. And exchange'd for Lieutenant-General *Allart*. Marries a sister of the Countess of *Piper* at *Ravitz*, 124.

Horn, Baron *Gustavus*, Quarter-Master of the *Drabans*, is made Colonel of the *Norder-Scanian* cavalry, I. 281. Is made prisoner, II. 283.

Horn, Major-General, is made a Lieutenant-General, and keeps his commission of Captain-Lieutenant of the *Drabans*, I. 281. Memorial presented by him to the Assembly of the Confederates at *Warsaw*, after the Throne of Poland had been declar'd vacant, 296. He is appointed Ambassador to King *Stanislaus*, 317. His public audience of that Prince, 322. Proposes the attacking King *Augustus*, II. 45. He is oblig'd to yield the city of *Warsaw* to the Saxons, and retire to the castle, 47. He surrenders himself, 48. Conditions of the capitulation, *ibid.* He obtains permission on his parole to repair to the King of Sweden, 49. He is exchange'd against Lieutenant-General *Allart*, II. 116.

Horn, Lieutenant-Colonel *Charles-Gabriel*, is detach'd towards *Breskizsi*, to secure that important pass, I. 203. Is killed, II. 143.

Horses, of the *Ukrain*, vigorous, III. 78.

Horses, Tartarian, their deformity, strength, and price, II. 158.

Hummer;

Hummerbielm, Colonel, defeats twelve companies of Prince *Wisniowiski's* forces, I. 121. Is taken prisoner, 122. Set at liberty, 281. And made a Major-General, *ibid.* Verses in his praise, III. 147.
Husum, the city of, oblig'd to surrender to the *Dans*, I. 25.

I.

J*Ama*, the castle of, besieged and taken by the *Muscovites*, I. 226.
Jawarow, an Assembly held there, I. 268. And adjourn'd, 269.
Jeral'ski, Mr. opposes the election of King *Stanislaus*, I. 315.
Imboff, Baron, nominated a Commissary on the behalf of King *Augustus*, to treat of a peace with the King of Sweden, II. 257. His Instructions, *ibid.* He is arrested at *Dresden*, and conducted soon after to the fortress of *Koningstein*, and why, 331. See *Pfingsten*.
Incidents, several that breed ill blood between the Emperor and King of Sweden, II. 322, 323.
Indifferents, a party so called, which was formed in the Palatinates of *Volhinia* and *Russia*, II. 109, and 115. The place where they assembled, *ibid.*
Inter-regnum, published in *Poland*, after the deposal of King *Augustus*, I. 296. Princes propos'd to succeed him after Prince *Alexander Sobieski* had refus'd the crown, 297.
Jordan, Colonel, taken prisoner at the battle of *Narva*, I. 57.
Joseph, Emperor, his answer to the internuncio of the Pope, who reproach'd him very severely on behalf of his Holiness, II. 359.
Ivanagrod, the castle of, surrender'd to the *Russians*, II. 26.
Ivan Illiewitz, elected General of the *Cossagues*, in the room of *Maxeppa*, III. 75.
Juel, Mr. Ambassador from the King of Denmark to the Court of Sweden, charg'd to hinder the marriage of the Duke of *Holstein* with the Princess-Royal *Hedwige-Sophia*, eldest sister of *Charles XII.* King of Sweden, I. 11. He withdraws from that Court, after having fail'd in his negotiations, *ibid.*
Juliusberg, the Duchess of, comes to *Ravitz* to find the King of Sweden, II. 132.
Iwanitski, Colonel, taken prisoner at the battle of *Narva*, I. 57.

K.

- K** *Abels*, a merchant of *Koningsberg*, killed, II. 387.
Kalis, the battle of, II. 292.
Kinnert, Lieutenant-Colonel, kill'd on the ramparts of *Narva*, II. 20.
Kiovia, the Palatine of, defeats General *Schmetski*, II. 198.
Kleisk, the action there, II. 226.
Klings-Parr, Colonel, defeats a party of *Russians*, and is kill'd. I. 82.
Klinkostrom, Mr. wounded with an arrow, I. 166. Sent to *Stockholm* by the Queen-Dowager, to acquaint the King of *Sweden* with the death of the Dukes of *Holstein* his sister, III. 122.
Klinkowstrom, Mr. page to the King of *Sweden*, his death, II. 68. How much regretted by the King his master, *ibid.*
Knefiewitz, the Regimentary, lays waste the Lordships of *Sapieha* in *Samogitia*, I. 190. And invests *Gadlingen*, *ibid.*
Knipercrona, sometime Resident for *Sweden* at the Court of *Russia*, proposes to the King his master on the part of the Czar, an exchange of the prisoners taken on both sides, III. 13. Reasons which mov'd the Czar to make that proposal, 15.
Knorring, Joran, Governour of the castle of *Mittau*, in great danger there, II. 136. Forced to surrender it to the *Muscovites*, 156.
Kokenbusen, besieg'd by the troops of King *Augustus*, I. 43. Oblig'd to surrender, *ibid.*
Kokzovi, Ottoman, Hettman of the Cossagues, receives audience of the King of *Sweden*, III. 104.
Kongsjöhr, a district so call'd, 14 leagues from *Stockholm*, I. 21.
Koningshiem, Lieutenant-Colonel, advantage obtain'd by him, I. 248. Is taken prisoner, *ibid.* And set at liberty, 267.
Koningsmark, Countess, sent by King *Augustus* to the King of *Sweden* with proposals of peace, I. 112. Why that Prince would not give her audience, *ibid.* She engages Mr. *de Wittxbum & Echstedt* to repair to the King of *Sweden*, 118. Verses made by her in compliment of that Prince, III. 143.
Korf, Colonel, taken prisoner by the *Swedes*, and sent to *Mittau*, as an hostage, I. 179.

Korf,

Korf, Quarter-Master of the regiment *de Craffau*, taken prisoner, I. 300.

Kragen, Von, Colonel of the *Russian* Artillery, taken prisoner at the battle of *Narva*, I. 56.

Kramakut, the action of, III. 98.

Kruus, Colonel, his expedition in the neighbourhood of *Grodno*, II. 206, 207, &c.

L.

L *Agerfelt*, a *Swedish* Captain, his death, II. 148.

Lagercrona, Colonel, created a Major-General, I. 281. His ill conduct, III. 61.

Lagnasco, Count, sent Ambassador to *Rome* by King *Augustus*, II. 128.

Lais, a phenomenon, that appear'd there *Mar. 15, 1701*. I. 68.

Lakowitz, the city of, demolish'd by the *Swedes*, II. 229.

Landkoronski, Mr. Palatine of *Cracow*, sent by King *Stanislaus* in quality of Ambassador to the King of *Sweden*, II. 299.

Lang, Baron, Major-General and Envoy from *Poland*, made prisoner at the battle of *Narva*, I. 56.

Lato-wice, invested by General *Brand*, II. 46. Surrender'd at discretion, 47.

Leipsic, the city of, sends Deputies to the King of *Sweden*, II. 264. The Fair held there as usual while the *Swedes* were in *Saxony*, *ibid*. The Deputies commanded not to treat with the *Swedes*, 'till instructed by Baron *Imhoff*, 300. The city receives great advantages by the King of *Sweden*'s residence in *Saxony*, 312.

Lemberg. See *Leopol*.

Lente, Mr. sent by the King of *Denmark* to the *Hague*, in quality of Plenipotentiary, and why, I. 4.

Leopol, the city of, call'd *Larwow* by the *Poles*, and *Lemberg* by the *Germans*, II. 41. It is invested by the *Swedes*, *ibid*. Description of it, *ibid*. Besieg'd formerly by an army of one hundred thousand *Turks* and *Tartars*, who were not able to carry it, *ibid*. Taken by the King of *Sweden*, who led on the assault in person, 43. Sums the inhabitants were oblig'd to pay, 44. That city takes the oath to King *Stanislaus*, and accedes solemnly to the Confederacy of *Warsaw*, 54. Diet-General which the Czar caus'd to be assembled there, after the abdication of King *Augustus*, and the proceedings there to elect a new King, 335. An Ambassador sent to that Assembly by the said Prince, *ibid*. The Czar repairs thither, and assists at it in person, 336. The result of that Assembly, *ibid*.

- Liefna*, the battle of, III. 49.
- Liewen*, Lieutenant-General, made General of foot, I. 214.
- Loses a leg by a cannon-ball, and dies, 229.
- Lilliegreen*, Lieutenant-Colonel, is killed at the siege of *Wieprik*, III. 92.
- Lillieboek*, Colonel, made Governour of the city of *Pofna*, upon its being taken by the *Swedes*, I. 258. Is kill'd at the battle of *Fraustadt*, II. 204.
- Lillieroth*, Count, is sent in 1697 Ambassador to the *Hague* by the King of *Sweden*, and why, I. 4. The Count *de Bonde* is colleague'd with him, 5. Memorials which he presents to the States-General, III. 137.
- Lillieftierna*, Major, killed, I. 80.
- Lindbielm*, Baron, is sent by *Charles XII.* Ambassador to the Czar of *Muscovy*, I. 13.
- Lindbold*, Count, is made Governour of *Charles XII.* I. 2. His death, II. 143.
- Linsjeb*, Adjutant-General, kill'd, III. 80.
- Lipfski*, Mr. Waiwode of *Kalis*, is sent Ambassador by the Republic of *Poland* to *Charles XII.* I. 129. His character, 130. Disgusts the King of *Sweden*, 131. Accus'd of having been corrupted with presents from King *Augustus*, and of having talk'd too haughtily to the Ambassadors of *Sweden*, 172. And is cut to pieces, *ibid.*
- Liffar*, the town of, plunder'd and burnt by the *Russians*, II. 346.
- Lithuania*, the vast forests found in that country, III. 13. The plenty and deliciousness of the honey it abounds with, *ibid.*
- Loade*, Mr. a *Swedish* officer, made prisoner by the *Muscovites*, III. 92. He is sent to the King of *Sweden* to solicit the exchange of *Schultz*, Adjutant to Prince *Menzikof*, *ibid.*
- Lorentz*, Captain, a *Swedish* Partizan, is attack'd by the *Saxons*, and defends himself bravely, I. 73.
- Lorentzen*, a *Swedish* Lieutenant-Colonel, sallies out of *Scalberg* with a detachment, and marches to *Slaboda*, where he carries off the advanced guard, composed of certain companies of *Valoches*, I. 265.
- Lofcher*, Commadore, sends to the King of *Sweden* a relation of a bloody combat, between a little squadron of *Swedish* ships and a great number of *Russian*, I. 137. He is attack'd by the *Russians*, 306. He blows himself up, together with his ship, *ibid.* What the King said upon hearing the news, *ibid.*
- Lowenbaupt*, Count *Adam*, a *Swedish* Colonel, makes irruptions at the head of a large party of *Swedes* into *Samogitia*,

- Samogitia*, where he commits great ravages, I. 179. Prisoners he took in that expedition, and sent as hostages to *Mittau*, *ibid.* He is surrounded by a strong detachment of *Lithuanians*, whom he defeats, 179. Is attack'd by them again, and defeats them again, 180. He enters into *Lithuania* with his troops, and surprizes four *Lithuanian* companies, which kept an advanced post before *Janiska*, 201. The advantage which he gain'd, 211. He receives a Major-General's Commission, and some time after that of Vice-Governour of *Courland*, *ibid.* He publishes a Manifesto, 289. He repairs to *Samogitia*, 290. Writes a letter to Secretary *Diepenbroeck*, 324. Obtains an advantage, 328. Makes himself master of the city of *Birsen* in *Lithuania*, II. 30. Marches to the relief of *Mittau*, 136. Obtains a victory over the *Muscovites*, 142. Detail of a battle near *Liesna*, in the Palatinate of *Miscislav*, between the *Swedish* troops commanded by *Lowenhaupt*, and the *Russian* army commanded by the Czar and his principal Generals, *Sept.* 29. 1708, III. 49.
- Lowenhaupt*, Count *Erick*, Lieutenant-Colonel, killed, II. 74.
- Lublin*, the city of, a general Diet, conven'd there, 232. Articles propos'd to them by King *Augustus*, 233. Regulations made by that Assembly, 241. A new Diet held in that city, II. 341. Proposals made to it by the Czar, 343. The greatest part of the members separate, 347. The result, 364.
- Lubomirski*, the Estates of the Princes of that family, tax'd with large sums by the *Swedes*, and why, I. 101. Submissions which they made to the King of *Sweden*, to mollify him, 191.
- Lubomirski*, Prince, Chamberlain to the Crown of *Poland*, attacks Colonel *Sparre*, I. 78. Finds himself oblig'd to set at liberty Mess. *Dabldorf*, and *Rosenstierna*, who had been taken prisoners, 183. Arrives too late for the election at *Warsaw*, 315. And acknowledges King *Stanislaus*, *ibid.*
- Lubomirski*, Prince, Great General of *Poland*, raises troops for King *Augustus*, I. 202. Is displeas'd at the preference of *Wisniowski*, 245. Pretends to the Throne of *Poland*, 312. Excuses himself from attending at the election of King *Stanislaus*, 313. But acknowledges him King, 316. Acts as a Commissary in negotiating a peace between *Sweden* and *Poland*, 323. Refuses to let the Crown army attack King *Augustus*, II. 47. Disperses

- Disperses his troops, and submits again to King *Augustus*, 109.
- Lubomirski*, son to the late Crown-Marshal, quits the service of the Emperor to attack the Saxons who had quartered themselves upon his lands, II. 115. Declares himself an enemy to King *Augustus*, and harasses his troops in several encounters, *ibid.* He repairs to the King of Sweden's quarters at *Ravitz*, with his troops, 122. Acknowledges King *Stanislaus*, and takes the oath of allegiance and fidelity, 123.
- Lutwovv*. See *Leopol.*
- Lybecker*, Major-General, his campaign in *Finland*, III. 185.

M.

- M** *Adnests*, men who die of the bite of a mad dog, and with what symptoms, III. 15.
- March*, a dreadful one of the Swedes from *Leopol*, II. 56. Another from *Warsaw* in pursuit of General *Schulenburg*, 103. Another in the night from *Mittau*, conducted by Count *Lowenbaupt*, 126. Another from *Warsaw* in the depth of winter, 181, &c. Another in pursuit of Marshal *Ogilvi*, 217, &c. Another wherein 2000 Swedes died of cold, III. 96. Another, 100.
- March* of the Swedish army near *Grodno*, 192. And of the garrison from that place, 193.
- Mardefeld*, Baron *Arwid-Axel*, Major-General, writes a relation of the taking of *Posnania* by the Swedes, I. 253. His journal of what happen'd before and during the siege of *Posnania* by the Swedes, *ibid.* His journal of the siege of the same place by the Saxons, II. 75. Loses a battle at *Kalis*, and is taken prisoner, 293.
- Mariembourg*, the city of, a council assembled there in 1703, by order of King *Augustus*, I. 204. Articles propos'd by him there, *ibid.* Convention made there, 205.
- Marlborough*, the Duke of, arrives in Saxony at the quarters of Count *Piper*, II. 325. He repairs to *Alt-Ranstadt*, to the King of Sweden, 326. Compliments that Prince, *ibid.* Dines with his Majesty, 327. What was the subject of his commission, 328. Repairs to King *Augustus*, and has a conference with him, *ibid.* The regard he testifies for Baron *Gortz*, 329. Takes his audience of leave of the King of Sweden, 330. Sees King *Stanislaus*, *ibid.* Repairs to *Berlin*, *ibid.* And thence to the *Hague*, *ibid.*

- Matusof*, Embassador from the Czar at the *Hague*, transmits a letter writ by his master, full of invectives against King *Augustus*, to the Queen of *England*, by the Duke of *Marlborough*, II. 332. His memorial to the States-General, *ibid*.
- Maxarini*, an *Italian*, who took upon him to be a Prince of that family, arrives at *Ravitz*, where the King of *Sweden* then was, II. 132. He changes his religion, and obtains a pension of his Majesty, *ibid*. His death, *ibid*.
- Maxeppa*, the *Hettman* or General of the *Cossagues*, advances at the head of his troops, by order of the Czar, across the *Ukrain* and *Vollinia*, as far as *Zamoisk*, on the *Wieprez*, in the Palatinate of *Beltz*, II. 157. Renders himself master of *Zamoisk*, 158. Joins the Czar at *Smolensko* with thirty or forty thousand *Cossagues*, 214. Reasons that he had to complain of that Prince, III. 16. His correspondence with the King of *Sweden*, *ibid*. And King *Stanislaus*, *ibid*. The steps he took to conceal his designs from the Czar, 64. He marches to join the *Swedes*, 65. His interview with the King of *Sweden*, 66. His character, *ibid*. His capital reduc'd to ashes by the troops of the Czar, 72. He is hang'd in effigy, 75. Endeavours to unite the rest of the *Cossagues* with the *Swedes*, 104.
- Mecklenbourg*, the Duke of, repairs to the King of *Sweden* at *Cracow*, I. 172.
- Mecklenbourg*, Prince *Charles Leopold* of, repairs to the King of *Sweden* at *Ravitz*, II. 132. An odd adventure that befel him, 245.
- Mecklenbourg*, *Strelitz*, the Duchess of, repairs likewise to the King of *Sweden* at *Ravitz*, II. 132.
- Medal*, struck on occasion of the interview between the King of *Sweden* and King *Augustus*, II. 309. Another medal struck at *Stockholm*, on occasion of the peace concluded between those princes, 310. A third medal occasioned by the redress of religious grievances in *Silesia*, 358.
- Meidel*, or *Maidel*, a *Swedish* Major-General, attacks and routs the *Russian* foragers, I. 48. Is made a Lieutenant-General, 214. His expeditions in *Finland*, 305. The advantage he obtain'd, 330.
- Melita*, the Prince of, made prisoner at the battle of *Narva*, I. 55.
- Mentzer*, Major, his expedition, I. 196.
- Menzikoff*, Prince, made Governour of *Narva* by the Czar, II. 25. And becomes his chief favourite, 27. Is sent into *Poland* by that Prince, 30. Repairs to *Wilna*, and confirms

confirms all the Czar's former promises made to the Palatine of *Culm* and *Oginsky*, *ibid.* Obliges King *Augustus* to come to a battle with the *Swedes*, 291. Loses three waggons full of silver, III. 8. Sacks the capital city of the *Cossacks*, 72.

Meteor, a very extraordinary one seen at *Narwa*, II. 16.

Meyerfeldt, Colonel, is detach'd on the side of *Kokenbusen*, where he carries off an advanced guard of twenty-two men, with a Lieutenant, I. 75. Supplies *Pinscbow* with provisions, and burns *Nowiomastia*, 174. Is attack'd by *Potocki*, 206. Raises a regiment, 299. Is appointed a Major-General, *ibid.* And attack'd by General *Schulenburg*, II. 34. Attacks and routs a party of *Saxons* and *Poles*, 51. Obtains an advantage over General *Brand*, 53. Repairs to *Poznania*, 81. And quits it again, 83. Takes a *Russian* magazine at *Sudara*, 194. Repulses a party of *Russians*, and breaks his leg, III. 88.

Meyerfeldt, Major, Brother of the Colonel of that name, attacks a *Lithuanian* party belonging to *Bandomir*, returning from *Livonia*, with abundance of booty, I. 196.

Mittau, verses on the taking that city by the *Swedes*, July 11. 1701, III. 142.

Morner, Baron, a *Swedish* Major-General, an expedition of his, I. 82. Receives orders to quit *Wilna*, and join his *Swedish* Majesty on the road to *Cracow*, 143. He is made a Lieutenant-General and Inspector of the reviews and fortresses of *Sweden*, 281.

Morner, Lieutenant-Colonel, is killed at the siege of *Wieprik*, III. 92.

Morstein, Mr. nominated Ambassador to the King of *Sweden*, by the Diet of *Sandomir*, I. 180. Expressions warm and a little coarse, used by him in a letter to Count *Piper*, *ibid.* He receives an audience of the King of *Sweden*, 215. The answer which was made to his propositions, *ibid.*

Motraye, Mr. *de la*, corrected, II. 373.

Mublenfeld, Brigadier, attacks the King of *Sweden* in *Grodno*, but is repulsed, III. 3. Is arrested, *ibid.* But escapes out of prison, and goes in search of the King of *Sweden*, in *Smorgonia*, 18.

Mublheim, whether 'tis true, that that *Saxon* officer had gone over to the King of *Sweden* with a design to assassinate him, I. 263.

N.

N *Appa*, the river of, a smart battle fought there between the *Swedes* and *Russians*, III. 37.

Narva, the city of, besieged by the *Muscovites*, I. 42.

Battle fought there between the *Swedes* and *Muscovites*, with the defeat of the last, 52. Booty found in their camp, 56. Prisoners taken, *ibid.* That City again besieged by the *Muscovites*, 304. Journal of the siege from April 1, to August 24, 1704, II. 1. A very extraordinary meteor seen there, 16. The place taken by storm, 22. Loss of the *Russians* during the siege, 26. What they found in the city, 27. The oath which they obliged the inhabitants to take, *ibid.*

Neitsch, Major-General, taken prisoner, I. 31.

Neumann, Surgeon, his dexterity in dressing the King of *Sweden*'s wound, received at the siege of *Pultowa*, III. 118.

Nieroth, Major-General, made a Lieutenant-General, I. 281. Order'd to cover the Diet at *Warsaw*, II. 144. Obtains a victory, 148.

Nieszewice, one of the strongest fortresses in *Poland*, surrendered to the King of *Sweden* without a blow, II. 230.

Nordenhielm, Mr. de, Preceptor to *Charles XII.* I. 2. Dies, 4.

Noteberg, a little city, situated on the *Nieva*, at the mouth of the lake *Ladoga*, besieged by the *Muscovites*, I. 188. And obliged to surrender, 189.

Noviomasta, the city of, burnt by the *Swedes*, and why, I. 174.

Nummers, Admiral, receives orders to equip a little squadron, on the lake *Peipus*, and for what, I. 72.

Nyenschantz, the fort of, taken by the *Muscovites*, I. 225.

O.

O *Deskalchi*, Prince, is put on the list of competitors for the Crown of *Poland* after the deposal of King *Augustus*, I. 297.

Ogilvi, Field-Marshal, his Letter to Baron *Horn*, demanding the surrender of *Narva*, II. 19. Grants the conditions demanded by the Governour of the Castle of *Iwanogrod*, 26. Commands the *Russian* army at *Grodno*, 190. Retires from *Grodno* towards *Volinia*, 217.

Ogilvi, a *Swedish* Adjutant-General, killed. III. 71. *Oginiski*,

- Oginski*, puts himself at the head of the party opposite to the *Sapiehas*, I. 92. And ravages their Estates, 93. He attacks *Ornstedt*, a *Swedish* Major, 96. And the detachment of Lieutenant-Colonel *Meyerfelt* at *Polangen*, 98. He is pursu'd by the *Swedes*, *ibid.* Surprizes *Charles* and his troops at *Friski*, and retreats, 100. He seizes upon the city of *Birzen*, 207. Solicits succours of the *Czar*, 326. Is defeated by Count *Lowenhaupt*, 328. Urges the *Czar* to enter *Poland*, I. 29.
- Oldenbourg*, difference which has long subsisted between the two branches of the house of *Oldenbourg*, the royal one of *Denmark*, and the ducal one of *Holstein*, I. 5.
- Opeln*, Major, a *Saxon* prisoner, presented with a fine horse and sword by the King of *Sweden*, I. 173.
- Ornstedt*, Major, repulses the *Saxons*, who advanc'd to attack him, I. 96. And kill'd at the battle of *Fraustadt*, II. 204.
- Ornstedt*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Charles*, defeats a party of *Valoches*, I. 170. Obtains the regiment of *Suderfcania*, 281.
- Ortelshourg*; a citizen of *Ortelshourg*, goes in search of the King of *Sweden*, while traversing a wood, II. 384. Offers to conduct his Majesty, *ibid.* His joy on discovering that he had been a long time discoursing with the King of *Sweden* himself, without knowing him, 386. Present the King made him, *ibid.*
- Ofiander*, Prelate, accompanies Prince *Maximilian-Emanuel de Wurtemberg* to the King of *Sweden*, III. 154. He is made an ecclesiastic Counsellor of *Sweden*, 155.
- Oxe*, Mr. a *Swedish* Officer, is made prisoner by the *Russians*, III. 92. Is sent by the *Czar* to the King of *Sweden*, to solicit the exchange of Mr. *Schultz*, Adjutant to Prince *Menzikoff*, *ibid.*
- Oxen*, numerous and cheap in the *Ukrain*, III. 78.
- Oxenstierna*, Count *Benedict*, first Minister and Chancellor of the Court of *Sweden*, is charg'd with the care of foreign affairs, after the death of *Charles XI.* I. 4.

P. *Aikul*, Lieutenant-Colonel, receives orders from King *Augustus* to disperse the Assembly at *Warsaw*, II. 144. Obtains an advantage, 145. He is beat by the *Swedes* and taken prisoner, 148. Letters found upon him, and their contents, 151.

Palmback, the death of that officer, III. 28.

Palmquist,

- Palmquist*, Lieutenant-Colonel of the guards, takes possession of the pass of *Pyhajoki*, I. 49. His death, 81.
- Pallitski*, the death of that officer, III. 28.
- Pannic* of the *Saxons*, when invaded by the King of *Sweden*, II. 258.
- Patkul*, General, induces King *Augustus* to declare war against *Sweden*, I. 12. He is sent to *Moscow*, 14. Forms a project to seize *Riga*, 19. Joins General *Brand* with 6000 *Russians* at the siege of *Poznan*, II. 90. Is treated as a rebel by the *Swedes*, 96. He acts as Ambassador from *Russia* to King *Augustus*, 171. He is suspected of endeavouring secretly to bring about a reconciliation between the Czar and the King of *Sweden*, 173. He is arrested by order of King *Augustus*, *ibid.* Taken out of the fortress of *Koningstein*, and deliver'd to a detachment of *Swedes*, 319. How greatly that proceeding offended the Czar, 332. He is broke on the wheel, 367.
- Patkul*, a *Swedish* Colonel, obtains certain advantages over the *Russians*, I. 72. He is wounded, II. 71.
- Patkul*, a *Swedish* Major, attacks three thousand *Circassians*, and sets fire to their villages, I. 46. He is attack'd in his turn by *Sheremetoff*, a *Russian* General, and made prisoner, 47.
- Patkul*, a *Swedish* Major, his expedition, I. 266.
- Paul*, Count *de Saint*, a Colonel, taken prisoner by the *Swedes*, I. 220. Obtains his liberty, 267.
- Paulucci*, the Pope's Nuncio, is sent into *Poland*, to mediate a peace between King *Augustus* and the *Grandees* of *Poland*, III. 126. The treaty which was made on that occasion, *ibid.*
- Peter I.* Czar of *Muscovy*, his alliance with *Frederic-Augustus*, King of *Poland*, I. 13. His fair promises to the *Swedish* ambassadors, 14. He sends an envoy to *Charles XII.* to assure him of an inviolable friendship, 41. He forms the siege of *Narva*, 42. He collects the remains of his army after the defeat at *Narva*, 58. Meets King *Augustus* at *Dirschau*, and for what, 66. He files off his army towards *Ingria*, to lay siege to the city of *Notebourg*, 187. He marches to *Finland* with part of his troops to attack Major-General *Cranbiert*, 239. He makes an irruption into *Livonia* and *Esthonia*, 259. He repairs to *Moscow*, 268. His preparations for a triumphant entry, *ibid.* He writes to the Primate of *Poland*, to the Senators, and to the Orders of the Republic, and threatens them with the utmost rigour, in case they persevere in their resolution to dethrone *Augustus*, 284. He makes a treaty with the King

King of *Poland*, 289. He puts himself at the head of the army which form'd the siege of *Narwa*, and of *Dorpt*, 337. His stratagem to ensnare the garison of the last, *ibid*. Makes himself master of that place, 338. An abstract of the articles of the treaty concluded between him and King *Augustus*, II. 28. Takes a resolution to enter *Poland*, 29. He repairs to *Moscow*, where he causes great rejoicings to be made for the success of the campaign, 30. Makes an irruption into *Lithuania*, 117. He receives the news of a revolt in the province of *Astracan*, where a great number of Malecontents gathered together, and wasted all before them with fire and sword, 172. He is greatly irritated when he hears of the deposal of King *Augustus*, 332. Complaints which he caus'd to be made in all the Courts of *Europe*, on the seizing of *Paskal* his Ambassador, *ibid*. State of his troops at the beginning of the year 1707, 333. He approaches *Leopol*, to give the greater weight to the Diet, which was to be held there, 334. His proceedings to intimidate the Partizans of King *Stanislaus*, *ibid*. He sends an Ambassador to the Assembly at *Leopol*, 335. Promises made by him to the members of that Assembly, 336. He arrives at *Leopol*, and assists in person at their deliberations, *ibid*. His reasons for sending a Minister to *Rome*, 340. Ravages committed by his troops on the Estates and Goods of those who were in the service of King *Stanislaus*, 341. He is incens'd at the conduct of the *Poles*, *ibid*. He causes *Universalia* to be publish'd against *Wisniowiski*, and his adherents, 342. His impatience to see the irresolution which prevail'd in the Assembly of *Lublin*, *ibid*. He repairs to *Lublin*, with an escorte of three thousand men, and why, 343. Proposals made by him to the Assembly there, *ibid*. He divides his troops into many bodies, 345. Terrible orders put in execution by his soldiers, 346. He plunders *Warsaw* of whatever he lik'd, and caus'd it to be transported to *Moscow*, or *Petersbourg*, 347. Retires from *Grodno*, III. 2. Orders *Lithuania* to be laid waste, 6. Makes all those who were wounded in the back at the battle of *Hollowzin*, cast lots for their lives, 31. Rides post to join his army upon the *Dezna*, 72. Degrades *Maxeppa*, 75. Arrives at his camp near *Pultowa*, 115.

Pfingsten, the Referendary, nominated by King *Augustus*, to negotiate a peace with the King of *Sweden*, II. 257. His instructions, *ibid*. He repairs to *Glogaw* in *Silesia*, from whence he sends a drum with a letter from King *Augustus*

- Augustus* to the King of *Sweden*, 258. He arrives at the *Swedish* camp, and enters into conference with Count *Piper*, 262. Propositions made by him on behalf of King *Augustus*, *ibid.* He repairs to *Pietrekow*, where he presents to that Prince the treaty of peace sign'd at *Alt-Ranstadt*, 290. Accus'd of not having sufficiently explain'd all the points of that treaty to the King his master, *ibid.* He exchanges the ratifications and transmits a letter to the King of *Sweden*, writ by King *Augustus*, 295. He is arrested at *Dresden* by the order of King *Augustus*, and conducted to the fortress of *Koningstein*, 331. The reason of his confinement, *ibid.*
- Pindegrand*, Colonel, made prisoner at the battle of *Narva*, I. 57.
- Pinnenberg*, a little town near *Hamburg*, conferences held there between the Ministers of *Denmark* and *Holstein*, I. 8.
- Pinsk*, the capital of *Polesia*, its situation, II. 224. By whom inhabited, *ibid.*
- Piper*, Count, is order'd by *Charles XII.* to visit the Cardinal Primate, I. 141. His conference with that Prelate, *ibid.* Letter which he writ to him, 223. Is made Grand Marshal, II. 170. Sends an answer to the memorial of the Maritime Powers, 249. He receives the Duke of *Marlborough* in *Saxony*, 325.
- Piper*, Major, defeats a party of *Poles* twice, II. 121.
- Plessen*, Mr. is sent by the King of *Denmark* to the *Hague*, and why, I. 4.
- Poland*, the Throne of, declar'd vacant, I. 296.
- Polus*, Count, made Preceptor to *Charles XII.* I. 4.
- Pompey*, the name of a favourite dog of the King of *Sweden's*, II. 288. His death, *ibid.* His corps sent into *Sweden* to be there interr'd, *ibid.* Verses in his praise, *ibid.*
- Porre*, Colonel *Klings*, defeats a large party of *Russians*, His death,
- Posibill*, Colonel, his letter to the King of *Sweden* on Major *Trautsetter's* expedition, I. 114. Wounded, III. 28.
- Posnania*, the city of, a relation of the taking it by the *Swedes*, I. 256. A journal of all that passed before and during the siege of that place by the *Saxons*, II. 75.
- Posnania*, the Bishop of, proclaims *Stanislaus* King of *Poland*, I. 316.
- Potocki*, the two sons of the late Grand General of *Poland*, receive audience of the King of *Sweden*, and implore
Vol. III. X his

his protection, I. 197. Present made them by that Prince, *ibid.* Their little gratitude, *ibid.* One of these *Potocki's* attacks the *Swedens*, 206. The Count of that name arrives at *Warsaw*, with 800 *Tartars*, II. 158.

Prague, the suburbs of, an action there between the guards of King *Stanislaus*, and certain *Poles* and *Russians*, II. 168.

Primate of Poland, receives audience of the King of *Sweden*, I. 139. He endeavours in vain to reconcile that Prince to King *Augustus*, *ibid.* The result of a conference he had with Count *Piper*, 142. Retires to his Estate, *ibid.* Contributions levy'd upon his lands by order of King *Augustus*, 193. His complaints thereupon, *ibid.* Convenes an Assembly of the Nobles at *Warsaw*, 194. Receives a letter from the King of *Sweden*, 199. Publishes a Convocation for the 5th of *February*, 1703, *ibid.* For what reason he was oblig'd to defer it till another time, 200. He is accus'd by King *Augustus* of being the cause of all the troubles of *Poland*, *ibid.* His interview with the King of *Sweden*, 212. His letter to Count *Piper*, 222. He repairs to the Diet of *Lublin*, 233. And obtains audience of King *Augustus*, 234. What he was accus'd of at the Diet, *ibid.* He purges himself, and regains the good opinion of that assembly, 235. He publishes his *Universalia* to convene all the Nobles of *Poland* at *Warsaw*, *January* 14, 1704, 278. The design of that convention, 279. His harangue at the opening of the Congress, *ibid.* Complains to the Pope of the seizing the Princes *Sobieski*, 288. He sends circular letters to all the cities of *Poland*, to invite them into the Confederacy, 296. Deputation sent to the Pope, to induce his Holiness to degrade him, 302. He sides with Prince *Lubomirski*, 312. The conditions on which he promis'd the King of *Sweden* to crown King *Stanislaus*, II. 111. He holds a Diet at *Cracow*, 112. Publishes *Universalia*, to convene the Dietines, 127. His death, 171. By whom he was succeeded, *ibid.* Verses in his praise, III. 148.

Press, for Printing, set to work by the *Swedish* dragoons, II. 319.

Printz, Baron, Minister of *Prussia*, offers his master's mediation to the King of *Sweden*, II. 263. The answer which he received, 264.

Prow, Vice-Admiral, makes an attempt on the Czar's works at *Retusari*, but without success, I. 329. And a second, which takes place, 330.

Paltowa,

Pultowa, the city of, its situation, III. 107. Besieg'd by the *Swedes*, 109.

Pultowa, the battle of related, III. 189.

Punitz, the action of, II. 69.

Pyhajoki, an exceeding dangerous pass, I. 48.

R.

R *Adziowski*, Michael, Primate of Poland. See *Primate*.

Kadziwil, Prince, pretends to the crown of Poland, after the deposal of King *Augustus*, I. 297. He remains attach'd to the faction of that Prince, II. 211. All his Estates in *Lithuania* entirely ruin'd by the *Swedes*, 230, 236. He is oblig'd to submit himself to King *Stanislaus*, 238.

Ragotzi, Prince, propos'd to be elected King of Poland, after the deposal of King *Augustus*, I. 297.

Ramstedt, the taking of that fort by the *Danes*, I. 25.

Ravitz, the city of, describ'd, II. 101. Plunder'd by the *Russians*, 346.

Rebbinder, General, body of troops assembled under his order near *Gothembourg*, I. 26.

Retufari, the Isle of, attempted by *Charles Arnfelt*, II. 117.

Reventlau, Count, sent by the King of *Denmark* to *Vienna*, with the complaints of that Prince against the Duke of *Holstein*, I. 17. He passes through *Dresden*, where he puts the last hand to the treaty for a triple alliance, concluded against *Sweden*, *ibid*. Arrives at the *Swedish* camp, 39.

Rheinschild, Baron and Lieutenant-General, receives orders to march towards *Warsaw*, with a part of the *Swedish* army, to cover the Assembly which the Cardinal Primate had conven'd there, 194. He marches with his army towards *Rawa* and *Lenzici*, 212. He is made General of horse, 214. He takes possession of the city of *Posnania*, 256. He receives orders to march towards *Cracow*, to surprize King *Augustus*, 285. His stratagem to deceive General *Schulenburg*, II. 199. He is attack'd by the *Saxons*, 201. The victory which he obtains, 204. Wounded, III. 92.

Ridderhielm, Major-General, is made Lieutenant-General and Governour of *Wisnar*, in the room of General *Liewen*, killed at the siege of *Tborn*, I. 281.

Ridzen, or *Reussen*, the castle of, describ'd, II. 106. Burnt by the *Russians*, 346.

- Riebe*, Colonel, taken by the *Swedes* in the city of *Kaslu*, II. 68.
- Riedeul*, a *Swedish* Captain killed at *Dantzic*, II. 378.
- Riga*, verses on the raising the siege of that city in 1701, by the *Muscovites*, III. 138.
- Robinson*, Mr. sent Envoy from *England*, and receives audience of the King of *Sweden* in the high-way, at which he makes a very pleasant figure, I. 203. He writes from *Dantzic* to Count *Piper*, to dissuade the King of *Sweden* from entering into *Saxony*, II. 248.
- Rochegude*, Marquis of, a *French* Refugee, dispatch'd by the Ecclesiastic Cantons, to the King of *Sweden*, II. 375. Obtains audience of that Prince, *ibid.* The demands which he made, *ibid.*
- Rorbel*, a *Saxon* General, accus'd of having sent an Officer to assassinate the King of *Sweden*, I. 264.
- Rollocz*, a party so call'd, III. 126.
- Romanowicz*, Lieutenant-Colonel, defeats a party of *Russians*, I. 59.
- Ronne*, General, surprizes *Dzielinski*, nominated Primate by King *Stanislaus*, II. 336. Is order'd by the Czar to enter into the *Verders* of *Dantzic*, with his troops, 339. Conditions propos'd by him to the Regency of that city, *ibid.* He is oblig'd to retire from before it, 340. Is repuls'd by the *Swedes*, III. 35. Defeated by Colonel *Daker*, 82.
- Ronnof*, Count, his death, I. 81.
- Rook*, Admiral, commands an *English* Fleet in the *Sound*, in favour of *Charles XII.* I. 29. He attacks the *Danish* Fleet, 31. Repairs to the King of *Sweden's* camps and felicitates him on his successes, 38.
- Roos*, Major, beaten by the *Muscovites*, I. 91. Attack'd by them again, III. 37.
- Rosenstierna*, *Hils*, Captain of the Guards, is wounded and taken prisoner, I. 166. Regains his liberty, 183. And is kill'd, III. 39.
- Rotblich*, Lieutenant-Colonel, defeats a party of *Muscovites* and *Saxons*, in the city of *Clodowa*, I. 212.

S.

- Sacken*, Baron, dispatch'd by the Republic of *Poland* to the King of *Sweden*, to signify they had resolved to send an Embassy to his Majesty, I. 120. The answer he received from that Monarch, *ibid.*
- Sack*, Baron, Captain of the *Swedish* Horse-guards, is made prisoner at *Cliffowa*, by the impetuosity of his horse,

- horse, which rush'd with him into the middle of the enemy's squadrons, I. 164. He is sent back by King *Augustus* with propositions of peace to the King of *Sweden*, *ibid.*
- Sapieha*, the Counts of, intreat the protection of the King of *Sweden*, I. 92. King *Augustus*'s reasons of complaint against those lords, *ibid.* Gracious reception which they met with from the King of *Sweden*, 93. Accommodation of the differences, which had long subsisted between the houses of *Wisniowski*, and *Sapieha*, III. 10.
- Sasi*, Major, surprizes four companies of *Lithuanians* at *Pomuscb*, and defeats them, I. 190.
- Saxo*, or *de Saxe*, an *Italian*, quits the service of *Russia*, and engages in that of *Sweden*, 181. Dangers to which he was expos'd in an action against the *Russians*, *ibid.* Sav'd by the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, *ibid.* Sent to see *Mazepa* chief of the *Cossacks*, III. 65.
- Scheremetoff*, General, surrounds a *Swedish* detachment, I. 47. And is repuls'd, *ibid.* Deferts the difficult pass of *Pyhajoki*, 48. He invests the little city of *Noteburg*, situated on the *Niewa*, 188. And carries it, 189. He is detach'd towards *Dorpt* with an army to make himself master of that place, 305. He loses a battle and is wounded, II. 142. Attacks and takes prisoner Colonel *Albedybl*, III. 101.
- Schimetski*, General, surpriz'd, defeated, and glad to escape in the disguise of a peasant, II. 198.
- Schlippenbach*, Count, a *Prussian* Major-General, obtains an audience of the King of *Sweden* at *Elbing*, I. 276. He causes the troops belonging to his master, to evacuate that place, *ibid.* He quits the *Swedish* army, and why, II. 181.
- Schlippenbach*, Colonel, is detach'd towards the city of *Dorpt*, to observe the movements of the *Russians* and *Saxons*, I. 45. He surprizes twelve *Russian* vessels at *Ismen* near *Rapin* on the *Peipus*, *ibid.* His other expeditions, 62. The troops under his command, 89. Defeats a strong party of *Russians* at *Casaritz*, *ibid.* He is made a Major-General, 91. The relation he sent the King of *Sweden* of what pass'd on the frontiers of *Livonia*, 105. He loses the battle of *Embach*, 163. Is oblig'd to surrender the city of *Noteburg* to the *Muscovites*, which they had besieg'd, 189. And is defeated in the neighbourhood of *Narva*, 309.
- Schnieberg*, Colonel, is taken prisoner at the battle of *Narva*, I. 57.

- Schonbeck*, General of the *Russian* army, has the direction of the siege of *Narva*, I. 305.
- Schulenburg*, General, commands the *Saxon* army, II. 31. He attacks Major-General *Meyerfeldt*, 34. Numbers he lost in the action, 35. He is attack'd by the King of *Sweden*, 69. His fine retreat, 73. Is circumvented by *Rheinschild*, II. 199. And afterwards defeated, 204.
- Schultz*, a *Russian* Colonel, his cruelties in *Poland*, II. 346. Taken prisoner by the *Swedes*, III. 58.
- Sezuka*, Mr. Sub-Chancellor of *Poland*, is sent envoy by King *Stanislaus* to the King of *Sweden*, and on what account, II. 299.
- Sheep*, their numbers and cheapness in the *Ukrain*, III. 78. Their remarkable Tails, *ibid*.
- Siegröth*, *Gustavus*, defends himself bravely, I. 123.
- Steniki*, General, Grand Master of the *Lithuanian* artillery, contrives to quit the party of the Czar, and submit to King *Stanislaus*, II. 342. Is compell'd to throw himself into *Bichow*, where he is besieged by the *Muscovites*, *ibid*. He surrenders at discretion, together with his brother and several grandees of *Poland*, *ibid*. His representations to the Czar to excuse his conduct, *ibid*. He is sent to *Moscow*, and thrown into prison, *ibid*.
- Silesia*, medal, struck on the occasion of redressing the religious grievances of that province, II. 359.
- Siniawski*, General, is sent by the republic of *Poland* at the head of a great part of the crown-army to reduce the Cossagues of the *Ukrain*, who were revolted, I. 184.
- Siniawski*, Palatine of *Belsk*, is made Grand General of the crown, by King *Augustus*, III. 9. He attaches himself to the Czar's party after the abdication of that Prince, *ibid*. He assembles all his troops at *Wlodowa*, and marches towards *Leopol* in the Palatinate of *Russia*, to put in execution the decrees of the tribunal of that city, with regard to the payment of the confederate army, 10. His manifesto declaring all those to be rebels who adher'd to King *Stanislaus*, *ibid*.
- Sion*, Major, repuls'd by the *Russians* endeavouring to throw himself into *Noteburg*, I. 189.
- Skytte*, Colonel *Charles-Gustavus*, is besieged by the *Russians* in the city of *Dorpt*, of which he was governour. I. 307. His relation of that siege, 331. He is oblig'd to surrender the place, 336. Informs the garrison of *Narva* of that event, II. 19.
- Skoropatski*, *Ivan Iliewitz*, is elected Grand General of the Cossagues in the room of *Mazeppa*, III. 74.

Skroda, the city of, an assembly held there in opposition to that of *Lublin*, I. 247.

Sleswick, the city of, taken by Major-General *Carmailon*, I. 25.

Smigelski, a famous partizan of King *Augustus*, makes continual excursions to harass the *Swedes*, I. 270. Is repuls'd at the head of 7 or 8000 horse by a lieutenant with 89 *Swedes*, II. 113. Seizes certain *Polish* deputies, 129. Enters into the bishopric of *Warmia*, and carries off from *Heilsberg*, and other places, several *Swedish* parties, who had levied large contributions, all which fell into his hands, 157. Deserts the Czar, II. 334.

Sobieski, Prince *Alexander*, complains to the Primate of *Poland*, of the seizing his two brothers by King *Augustus*, I. 287. He puts himself under the protection of the King of *Sweden*, 289. And refuses the crown of *Poland*, 296. Conjectures at the reason of that refusal, *ibid*.

Sobieski, Prince *Constantine*, is seized by order of King *Augustus*, and conducted to *Leipsic*, together with his brother *James*, 284. And is set at liberty again, II. 310.

Sobieski, Prince *James*, is propos'd by the King of *Sweden* to be King of *Poland*, I. 278. Is seiz'd, together with his brother *Constantine*, and sent to the castle of *Leipsic*, 284. He is set at liberty, II. 310.

Sparfwenfeld, Major, his Death, I. 81.

Sparr, Vice-Admiral, convoys the *Saxon* prisoners to *Sweden*, I. 271. Is surpriz'd by a storm, *ibid*. And loses one ship with 500 *Saxons*, *ibid*.

Sparre, *Axel*, a *Swedish* Colonel, is order'd to collect all the Barks and Carriage-Boats on the *Vistula*, and why, I. 177. He is attack'd by Prince *Lubomirski* Chamberlain of the crown of *Poland*, 178.

Spectacle, a dreadful one at the taking of *Narva*, by the *Russians*, II. 22. Another in the *Ukrain*, III. 87.

Spens, Baron, a *Swedish* Lieutenant-General, and Colonel of horse-guards, defeats a *Russian* party at *Pitschur*, I. 65. Is made General of horse, and Inspector of the fortresses and reviews of *Sweden*, 281.

Sperling, the two young Counts of, kill'd at the siege of *Wieprik*, III. 92.

Stanislaus Lesinski, Count and Palatine of *Poznania*, declares against King *Augustus*, I. 192. Repairs from *Warsaw* to *Heilsberg*, to wait upon the King of *Sweden*, 291. His fine qualities, 292. His family, *ibid*. He obtains audience of the King of *Sweden*, *ibid*. The answer

swer he receives from his Majesty, *ibid.* Who declares himself for him only to succeed to the throne of *Poland*, 203. He communicates to the primate and confederates the good intentions of his *Swedish* Majesty towards them, 295. Why the majority of the confederate *Poles* united their voices in his favour, when a new King was put in nomination, on the depofal of King *Augustus*, 298. He is elected King of *Poland*, 315. He imparts his election to the King of *Sweden*, 317. He gives audience to the ambassadors of that Prince, 322. He retires from *Warsaw* with the Queen his spouse, madam *Royal* his mother, and the two Princesses *Anne* and *Mary*, II. 45. Repairs again to *Warsaw*, 151. The ceremony of his coronation, 159. Verses upon the occasion, 166. Is complimented by *Charles XII.* with the city of *Stetin* for the residence of his Queen and family, 170. He makes a treaty with the King of *Sweden*, 173. The substance of that treaty, 174, &c. He sends an embassy to the King of *Sweden*, after the peace of *Alt-Ransstadt*, 299. His interview with that Prince, 310. His Letter to King *Augustus*, 321. Conditions on which Count *Zinzendorff* had orders from the Emperor, his master, to acknowledge King *Stanislaus*, 323. That Prince gives out the orders of the Republic, with regard to the assembly of *Leopol*, 337. He terminates amicably the differences which had so long subsisted between the houses of *Wisniowiski* and *Sapieha*, III. 10. Separates from the King of *Sweden*, 17.

Steenborg, Prince Palatine of, *Adolf-John*, near in blood to *Charles XII.* dies at *Lais*, I. 68. His origin, *ibid.* His character, 69. His corps transported to *Stockholm*, to be there interr'd in the tomb of the Kings of *Sweden*, *ibid.*

Steenborg, the Princess-Palatine of, cousin to the King of *Sweden*, repairs to his Majesty at *Rawitz*, II. 132.

Steinau, Field-Marshal, summons the governour of *Koekenhusen* to surrender, I. 43. Makes himself master of that fort, *ibid.* Is defeated by the *Swedes*, 79. And again at *Pultowsk*, 220.

Stenbock, Count, a *Swedish* Major-General, makes reprisals on the *Russians*, who had set fire to many places on the lake *Peipus*, I. 62. He is order'd to set out from *Wilna* to join his Majesty on the road to *Cracow*, 143. He is made governour of *Cracow*, of which the *Swedes* were then masters, 170. He is made Director-General of war, and forms a company of *Towarches*, 181. He levies large contributions on the estates of the Princes *Lubomirski*, and their adherents, to compel them to come
into

into the measures of the King of *Sweden*, and desert King *Augustus*, 191. His broils with the nobility of *Russia* and *Volhinia*, 194. He writes, by order of the King of *Sweden*, to the magistrates of *Lublin*, to signify his Majesty's resentment for the injury they had done General *Morner*, 197. Is sent to *Dantzic* to take the necessary measures for transporting the *Saxon* prisoners to *Sweden*, together with all the trophies taken in *Poland*, 266. Demands of the magistrates of *Elbing* passage for the *Swedish* troops, 272. He raises a regiment, 299. Writes a letter by the order of the King his master, to the city of *Dantzic*, and for what, *ibid.* He gives two blows to *Galeski*, Palatine of *Kalis*, and why, II. 44. His declaration to the inhabitants of *Leopol*, after the taking of that place by the *Swedes*, *ibid.* Treats with Baron *Imhoff* concerning the contributions demanded of the states of *Saxony* by the King of *Sweden*, 300.

Stiernbock, *Gustavus*, Captain of the guards, attacks the troops of Prince *Lubomirski*, and puts them to flight, I. 178.

Stjerflabl, Lieutenant-Colonel, surrenders the castle of *Ivanograd*, II. 22.

Stralenheim, Baron, envoy from *Sweden* to *Vienna*, receives a blow from Count *Zobor*, and why, 322. Returns to the King his master without taking leave of the court of *Vienna*, *ibid.*

Stratman, Count, the Emperor's minister in *Poland*, has an ascendancy over King *Augustus*, I. 176.

Stromberg, *Alexander*, made a Lieutenant-General, I. 214. Is appointed governour of the province of *Geole* in *Sweden*, 281. Throws a bridge over the *Vistula*, II. 65. Reduces the nobles of *Cracow* by his fine Behaviour, 126.

Stuart, Baron, appointed to teach mathematics and fortification to *Charles XII.* I. 2. He goes in search of the most proper place to make a descent in *Zeeland*, 34. Is wounded, 37. And made a Lieutenant-General, 214.

Sun, a phenomenon of two at *Lais*, March 15. 1701. I. 68.

Swab, Captain, taken prisoner, I. 161.

Swedes, the number of their troops in *Poland* and *Prussia* at the end of the campaign in 1703.

Sweeden, *Von*, a *Russian* General, kill'd, III. 29.

Swinarski is surprized on the frontiers of *Silesia* by a party of *Swedes*, and made prisoner, II. 122. He finds means to escape, 123.

Szambuck,

Szembeck, Bishop of *Cujava*, nominated primate of *Poland* by King *Augustus*, II. 171. Implores the protection of the Czar, 333. Puts himself at the head of the *Poles*, who would proceed to a new election; after the depolal of King *Augustus*, *ibid.* He writes to *Ratisbonne* to intreat the states of the empire to acknowledge none for King of *Poland*, but him that should be chosen unanimously by the whole Republic, 334. And publishes circular letters to convene a diet at *Leopol*, in order to proceed to a new election, *ibid.*

T.

T*Arlo*, Count, is sent embassador by the Republic of *Poland* to *Charles XII.* I. 129. He gives an entertainment at *Warsaw* to the Duke of *Holstein*, 142. Taken prisoner at the battle of *Kalis*, 292.
Tartars Calmucks, 800 of them arrive at *Warsaw*, II. 158.
Taube, Baron, made a Colonel, I. 280. Is wounded, II. 83. Defeats a party of *Russians*, and carries off 900 horses, III. 82. Defeats a second party, 85.
Tescin, Baron, introduces a company of *French* comedians into *Sweden*, I. 18. Exhibits a triumphal pyramid at *Stockholm*, 64.
Thorn, the city of, taken by the *Swedes*, I. 262. The plunder taken there after the surrender, 263.
Tonningen besieg'd by the *Danes*, I. 25. The siege rais'd, 28.
Travendabl, the peace concluded there, I. 39.
Trautsetter, a *Swedish* Lieutenant-Colonel, makes himself master of *Nieswiecz*, where he defeats a *Russian* detachment posted there, II. 215.
Trubetskoi, the *Knees Irwan Furgenits*, Governour of *Novogrod*, and General, taken prisoner at the battle of *Narva*, I. 56.
Tschambre, a *Russian* General, kill'd, III. 29.

U. V.

U*Krain*, the situation of that country, III. 75. Its extent, *ibid.* By whom inhabited, 76. Its fertility, 77.
Verses to induce the King of *Sweden* to relieve the Empire, I. 285. On the King of *Sweden*'s favourite dog call'd *Pompey*, 288. On the raising the siege of *Riga*, III. 138. On the defeat of the *Saxons*, *July 9. 1701.* 141. On the taking of *Mittau* by the *Swedes*, 142. An epigram

- gram on *Charles XII.* by the Countess of *Koningsmark*, 144. On the fine defence of *Mr. Hummerhielm*, when attack'd by the enemy, *March 31. 1702.* 147. On the *Primate of Poland*, 148. On the *King of Sweden's* victory at *Pultowsk*, 150. On the taking of *Thorn*, 152. On the shipwreck of the *Saxon* prisoners in their voyage to *Sweden*, 153. To the *King of Sweden*, on the taking of *Leopol*, 161.
- Vielopolski*, the *Starost Francis*, Governour of *Warsaw*, refuses to deliver that place to the *Swedes*, I. 168. Is arrested and confin'd, 169. His conduct condemn'd by his associates, and why, *ibid.*
- Ungern*, a *Livonian* Baron, defeats 2000 *Muscovites*, I. 162.
- Ulrica Eleanor*, daughter of *Frederic III.* King of *Denmark*, her marriage with *Charles XI.* King of *Sweden*, I. 2. Dies, 3.
- Voit*, Baron, Privy-Counsellor to the Prince of *Anspach*, accompanies Prince *Maximilian-Emanuel* of *Wurtemberg* to the King of *Sweden*, III. 154. His return to *Anspach*, 155.
- Volhunia*, the province of, described, II. 235.

W.

- W** *Achslager*, Mr. his letter to *Mr. Adlerfelt* on the election of King *Stanislaus*, I. 318.
- Wachtmeister*, Count, assists the Prince of *Wurtemberg* in saving the King of *Sweden* from being drown'd, II. 213.
- Wachtmeister*, Colonel *Fritz*, falls into the hands of the *Russians*, I. 309.
- Walk*, a little town, plunder'd and depopulated by the *Russians*, I. 163.
- Wallenstedt*, Major, his death, I. 65.
- Wallenstedt*, Count, is made superintendant of trade and the finances on the death of *Charles XI.* King of *Sweden*, I. 4.
- Warsaw*, or *Warsowia*, the capital of *Poland*, invested by King *Augustus* and General *Brand*, and taken, II. 47. As likewise its castle, 48. Conferences open'd there, 152. Plunder'd by the *Czar*, 347.
- Wasinski*, the Regimentary, burns the lordships of *Sapieha* in *Samogitia*, I. 191. He invests *Godlingen*, *ibid.*
- Watrang*, Quarter-Master, kill'd, III. 28.
- Wax* in abundance, and very cheap in *Lithuania*, III. 13.
- Weide*, Adam, a *Muscovite* General, taken prisoner at the battle of *Narva*, I. 55.

Weithoff,

Weitboff, Colonel, taken prisoner at the battle of *Narva*, I. 57.

Welling, Baron *Maurice*, sent to congratulate *Augustus* on his succession, I. 15. Deceived by Count *Reventlau* and Baron *Flemming*, 17.

Welling, Baron *Otto*, General of horse and Governour of *Narva*, marches against the enemy, at the head of the *Swedish* troops in *Livonia* and *Finland*, I. 22. He repulses certain *Saxon* troops who advance to pass the *Duna*, 33. He is oblig'd to give way to numbers, *ibid.* Is detach'd towards *Dorpt*, to sustain Colonel *Skyttle*, and cover the frontier, 48. He defeats a party of *Russians*, II. 74.

Wideman, a *Saxon* Colonel, his Death, II. 148.

Wieprik, the taking of that place by the *Swedes*, III. 93.

Wilna, the city of, laid under contributions by the *Swedes*, III. 8. Receives King *Stanislaus*, 9.

Winkelman, a *Saxon* Lieutenant-Colonel, his death, II. 148.

Winter, rigorous at *Warsaw* in 1705. II. 179. And in the *Ukrain*, III. 87. & 91.

Wisniowiski, Prince, joins himself to the enemies of *Sapieha*, I. 93. Obtains an advantage, 122. Is like to be taken, 125. He seeks to be reveng'd for the surprise of *Wilna*, 127. He is beaten, *ibid.* He endeavours to relieve the city of *Thorn* besieg'd by the *Swedes*, 247. Fails in that enterprize, *ibid.* He wheels off towards great *Poland* to dissipate the confederates, *ibid.* He abandons the party of the *Czar*, and why, 247. Attacks the King of *Sweden* in the night, II. 54. He repairs to *Saxony* to submit himself to King *Augustus*, 342. The families of *Wisniowiski* and *Sapieha* reconcil'd, III. 10.

Wisnar, the citizens of, fit out a vessel to attack a *Saxon* one that infested their coast, and take her, I. 94.

Witzthum d'Eckstedt, Mr. Chamberlain to King *Augustus*, waits upon the King of *Sweden* with propositions of peace, I. 118. He is arrested by order of *Charles XII.* and why, 119. He is conducted to *Riga*, and is permitted, at last, to return to *Saxony*, *ibid.*

Wolffen, Major, his death, I. 81.

Woolffrath, Lieutenant-Colonel, is attack'd by the *Saxons*, I. 301. And wounded, 302.

Worden, General *Von*, attacks the *Swedes* and is repuls'd with loss, III. 58.

Woriarowski, nephew to *Mazeppa*, sent to Prince *Menzikoff*, from his uncle, and why, III. 63.

Wrangel, Major-General, and Captain-Lieutenant of the *Drakans*, kill'd, III. 28.

Wrangel,

Wrangel, Baron, kill'd, II. 143.

Wrangel, Lieutenant-Colonel, kill'd, III. 94.

Wratislau, Count, repairs to *Saxony*, and why, 349. Is admitted to an audience by the King of *Sweden*, *ibid.* Offers made by him to that Prince, in the name of the Emperor, 350. Treaty concluded by him, *ibid.*

Wrede, Count, entrusted with the care of the naval affairs, after the death of *Charles XI.* King of *Sweden*, I. 41. Sent to complement the *English* and *Dutch* Admirals, 29. His death, 62.

Wurtemberg, Prince *Maximilian-Emanuel* of, marches to the Assault with the King of *Sweden*, at the siege of *Leopol.* II. 43. Rushes into a house all in flames to save the King of *Sweden*, 125. He saves the life of a gallant *Italian*, 187. Rescues the King of *Sweden* from drowning, 213. He is wounded, III. 18. Kills an officer who had challeng'd him, 29. Great danger to which he was expos'd, 42. And again, 86. Made a Colonel, 97. Like to be taken prisoner, 116. He sets out from *Stutgard* in 1703, to join the King of *Sweden*, 154. By what means he procur'd the good graces of his Majesty, 155. He kills one of the enemy's dragoons with his own hand, 156. He loses both his speech and his breath by a dangerous fall, *ibid.* How he was cur'd, *ibid.* The danger he run at the siege of *Thorn*, 157.

Z.

Z*abirs*, the castle of, surrender'd to the King of *Sweden*, and demolish'd, II. 228.

Zamosc, one of the strongest places in *Poland*, refuses passage in 1703 to Count *Stenbock*, II. 56. Does the same to King *Augustus*, *ibid.* Opens its gates to the King of *Sweden*, and pays the sum demanded for his army, *ibid.*

Zaraneck, a *Lithuanian* Partizan, is surpriz'd and beaten by Colonel *Kruus*, I. 136.

Zidler, Colonel, his death, I. 81.

Zinzendorff, Count, arrives at the camp of the King of *Sweden*, in quality of envoy from the Emperor, I. 159. Receives his first audience, 174. The subject of his embassy, 175. He receives orders to enter into conference with Count *Piper*, 110. He is supported in his demands by Mr. *Robinson* the envoy from *England*, 111. He receives orders from the Emperor to acknowledge King *Stanislaus*, 323. The subject of his conferences with Count *Piper*, 324. Ratifies the treaty concluded between the Emperor and *Sweden*, 362.

Zuber,

Zobor, Count, Chamberlain to the Emperor, speaks disrespectfully of the King of *Sweden*, II. 322. Gives a blow to Baron *Stralenheim*, the *Swedish* envoy at *Vienna*, *ibid.* Is arrested by order of the Emperor, *ibid.* Is deliver'd to the *Swedes*, 349. And sent back to *Vienna*, 362.

Zulig, Lieutenant-Colonel, surprizes a party, I. 270.

INDEX

TO THE

Relation of the Battle of *Pultowa*, Journal of the King's Retreat, &c. inserted at the End of Vol. III.

A.

- A** *Alerfeld, Gustavus*, killed at the battle of *Pultowa*, 237.
Alliance, concluded between *Charles XII.* King of *Sweden*, and *Mazeppa, Hettman*, or General of the *Cossacks*, 192. Articles of the treaty made on that occasion, 193.
Anrep, a *Swedish* Major-General, kill'd at the battle of *Pultowa*, 231.
Aspres, the name of a small coin among the *Turks*, 258.

B.

- B** *Aggave* of the *Swedes* seiz'd by the *Russians* on the side of the *Bog*, 265.
Baturin, the city of, taken, pillag'd, and burnt by the *Russians*, 213.
Bog, the river of, whence it takes its source, 257.
Boristhenes, the river of, cross'd by the King of *Sweden*, after his defeat, 244.
Buchwald, a *Swedish* Colonel, killed at the battle of *Pultowa*, 237.

C.

- C** *Charles XII.* King of *Sweden*, would have been well pleased to strike up a peace with the *Czar*, during his residence in *Saxony*, 189. And upon what terms, *ibid.* With what view he left *Saxony*, *ibid.* He would have been glad to have been the mediator between the *Allies* and *France*, 190. Where he chose winter quarters for his army in 1708, *ibid.* Concludes a secret alliance with *Mazeppa*, 192. The state of his army when he undertook to march towards the *Ukrain*, *ibid.*
 The

The troops which he left in *Poland*, and elsewhere, to support King *Stanislaus*, 200. What regiments he ordered to remain in *Sweden*, 201. Commands Major-General *Lybecker* to penetrate into *Ingria*, with his army, 202. He enters into *Severia*, where he finds the whole country laid waste and desolate, 210, & 212. He crosses the *Donna*, and defeats the *Russians*, who disputed his passage, 213. Rafts employed by him in passing rivers, 214. What he did upon his entrance into the *Ukrain*, *ibid.* The dreadful march he oblig'd his army to perform, 215. The victory he obtain'd over the *Russians* near *Krasnakut*, *ibid.* He assembles his army between the rivers of *Pfoll* and *Worskla*, and invests the city of *Pultowa*, 216. Why he commonly encamp'd his troops in little separate bodies at a small distance from each other, *ibid.* His design in besieging *Pultowa*, 217. He receives a musket-shot which fractures his foot, 222. His litter overset by a cannon-ball at the battle of *Pultowa*, 232. He quits the field, and marches with the rest of his army towards the *Borisphenes* along the side of the *Worskla*, 233. The number of his troops after the loss of that battle, 236. He arrives on the side of the *Borisphenes*, *ibid.* Halts with his army near a city call'd *Perevolocsna*, where the *Worskla* empties itself into the *Borisphenes*, 238. He passes that river, 239. He traverses the Desert call'd *Dzike-Pole*, 247. How greatly his troops suffer'd in that march, 248, &c. He gives notice of his arrival to the Governour of *Oczakow*, 252. He arrives on the banks of the *Bog*, 253. Marks of his great generosity, 259. He passes the *Bog*, 263. He continues in health, tho' all his men were afflicted with dysenteries, 267. His letter to the Grand Signor, 268. He receives letters from the Seraskier of *Bender*, 271. He is inform'd of the death of his sister the Duchess of *Holstein-Gottorp*, 273. The impression it made upon him, 274. Proofs of his great piety, 275. He traverses the *Tartary* of *Akerman*, 276. Present sent to him by the *Han* of the *Tartars*, 277. He encamps one league from *Bender*, 279. And is visited by the Seraskier of that City, *ibid.* Verses on his portrait, prefix'd to the first Volume of this work, 280.

Cherries found in the Desert of *Dzike-Pole*. See *Dzike-Pole*.

Copekes, a species of small *Russian* money so call'd, 258.

Cossagues, what kind of muskets they use, 222.

Cossagues, *Zaporovian*, dwell in caves under ground, or in tents made of felt, 256. Their food, *ibid.*

Crassaw,

Crassau, a *Swedish* Major-General, reproach'd, 218. Has a misunderstanding with King *Stanislaus*, while both were in *Upper Poland*, *ibid.*

Cruse, Major-General, detach'd by the King of *Sweden*, to surprize General *Rohne*, who commanded seven thousand dragoons, 220. Why that expedition miscarried, *ibid.* Capitulates with Prince *Menzikoff*, 242.

Czar of Muscovy. See *Peter I.*

D.

D *Rittels*, a name given to the *German* florins, 259.
Dublar, Mr. *Rennow*, his verses on the portrait of *Charles XII.* 280.

Dzike-Pole, a Defart, so call'd by the *Poles*, *Tartars*, and *Cossagues* in its neighbourhood, 247. Quality of its soil, *ibid.* Description of cherries found there, 250. And animals, 251. Why that defart is not inhabited, 254.

E.

E *Diga*, the name of one of *Tamerlane's* Generals, who, in 1399, defeated the army of *Withfold*, Great Duke of *Lithuania*, 225.

F.

F *Ollard*, the Chevalier, quoted, 214.
Fordubbling, the meaning of that word, 203.
Funk, a *Swedish* Captain, made prisoner by the *Muscovites* at the battle of *Pultowa*, 228.

G.

G *Allowin*, Brigadier, brother-in-law to Prince *Menzikoff*, finds means to throw himself into *Pultowa*, while besieged by the *Swedes*, 221. And is taken prisoner, *ibid.*

Gros, a species of *German* money so called, 258.

Gustavus Adolphus, battle fought by him near *Nuremberg*, when he attack'd the entrenchments of *Wallenstein*, 234.

H.

H *Amilton*, General, taken prisoner, 237.
Hermelin, Mr. *Olof*, Counsellor of the Chancery of *Sweden*, killed at the battle of *Pultowa*, 237. A report current that he was not dead, but taken prisoner, *ibid.*

Hielm, a *Swedish* Colonel, makes a vigorous attack on the *Turks* at the battle of *Pultowa*, 232.

Hirschenstierna, Secretary to the King of *Sweden*, killed at the battle of *Pultowa*, 237.

I.

I *Ngulet Malinki*, a river so call'd, 252.
Ingulet Weliki, another river, *ibid*.

K.

K *Eddis*, or *Hordes*, what they are, 272.
Klinkostrom, the Secretary, is sent by the King of Sweden to the Governour of *Oczakow*, to give notice of the arrival of that Prince, 252.
Kraft, verses made on his portrait of *Charles XII.* 280.
Krasnakut, an advantage obtain'd by the *Swedes* over the *Russians* near that place, 215.

L.

L *Agerkrona*, Major-General, is order'd by the King of Sweden, to make himself master of the fortresses of *Seweria*, 210. Success of that expedition, 211.
Letter from Charles XII. to the Grand Seigneur, 268.
Livonia, reduc'd by the *Russians*, 235.
Locusts, infinite numbers of, 276. The havock they make, 277.
Lowenbaupt, Count, is attack'd by the *Russians*, 204. A list of the regiments which compos'd his army, *ibid*. Why he did not join the King of Sweden at the time he expected him, 207. His gallant defence at the battle of *Liesna*, 208. He neglects the orders given to him by the King of Sweden, before the passing the *Borishenes*, after the battle of *Pultowa*, 241. He surrenders himself and his troops to Prince *Menzikof*, *ibid*. Why he pay'd too much deference on that occasion to the advice of the Generals *Creutz* and *Cruus*, *ibid*.
Lybecker, Major-General, is order'd by the King of Sweden to penetrate into *Ingria* with his army, 202. The regiments of which his army was compos'd, 203. The ill success of his expedition, 204.

M.

M *Arch*, a dreadful one, 210.
Mazeppa, Hettman, or General of the *Cossagues*, secretly concludes an alliance with *Charles XII.* King of Sweden, 193. Articles presented by him to that Prince, to obtain his amity and protection, *ibid*. His treaty with *Poland*, and the articles it contain'd, 195. Suspected to have a design to reconcile himself to the Czar, 212. The danger he escap'd, 213. *Loses Baturin*, the place of his residence, *ibid*. He sets out with certain

certain troops to put himself under the protection of the King of *Sweden*, and his army, *ibid.* He passes the *Boristhenes* after the battle of *Pultowa*, 233. The money he transported with him, which was of great service to the *Swedes*, after the loss of the said battle, 246.

Menzikoff, Prince, pursues the *Swedes*, who retir'd towards the *Boristhenes*, after the battle of *Pultowa*, 240. He offers a capitulation to Count *Lowenhaupt*, *ibid.*

Meyerfeld, Major-General, now Field-Marshal, Senator, and Governour of *Pomerania*, breaks his leg, 237. Obtains a pass from the Czar to travel unmolested, thro' *Poland*, *ibid.* He is arrested, and afterwards released on his parole, 238.

Milk, that tastes bitter, and why, 273.

Mizieslaw, the Province of, to whom it belongs, 209. Great number of marshes found there, *ibid.*

Muscovites, every where oblig'd to give ground to *Charles XII.* when that Prince enter'd into *Poland*, 190. Ravages committed by them in their rout, *ibid.*

N.

N *Augebauer*, Chancellor of the Court of Justice in *Pomerania*, made a Baron by her *Swedish* Majesty now reigning, 246. Is sent by *Charles XII.* to *Constantinople*, with a letter to the Grand Signor, 268.

O.

O *Bas*, tents so called by the inhabitants of *Akerman-Tartary*, 273.

Oczakow, situation of that city,

Oczakow, the Bashaw of, his churlish behaviour to the *Swedes*, 260.

P.

P *Aras*, a species of money so called, 258.

Perspective, the Great, a road so called, and why, 191.

Peter I. Czar of *Muscovy*, on what conditions he offers to make peace with *Charles XII.* 189. His engagements with the Emperor, *England* and *Holland*, who advise him to continue the war, *ibid.* Is oblig'd to send the greatest part of his army to oppose that of *Charles XII.* 191. He sends a part of his army to the *Ukrain*, to surprize *Mazeppa* at *Baturin*, 212. Why, in making war in his own country, he chose to hazard ten *Russians* for one *Swede*, 215. Number of his forces, 223. He demands of the Grand Signor the surrender of *Mazeppa*, 278.

Piper, Count, ill counsel given by him to the King of Sweden, on occasion of the battle of *Pultowa*, 230.

Is embroil'd with General *Rheinschild*, *ibid.* And taken prisoner by the *Muscovites*, 233.

Poniatoffski, General, is sent to the Governour of *Oczakow*, by the King of Sweden, to give advice of the arrival of that Prince, 252.

Pontus Euxinus, improperly call'd the *Black Sea*, 277.

Post, a Swedish Lieutenant-Colonel, kill'd at the battle of *Pultowa*, 231.

Pultowa, the city of, besieg'd by the Swedes, 216. Why the siege proceeded so slowly, 219. The battle fought near that place, June 28, O. S. between the Swedes and *Muscovites*, in which the first were defeated, 233. The fatal consequences of that battle to Sweden, 234. Parallel between that and the battle of *Nuremberg*, in which the great *Gustavus Adolphus* attack'd the entrenchments of *Wallenstein*, *ibid.*

R.

R *Afts*, us'd by Charles XII. in passing over Rivers, 214.

Ratck, a Swedish Colonel, kill'd at the battle of *Pultowa*, 237.

Renne, a Russian General, escapes a great danger, 221. And loses an opportunity of defeating General *Cruse*, *ibid.*

Rheinschild, General, his council to the King of Sweden, with respect to the battle of *Pultowa*, 230. Misunderstanding between him and Count *Piper*, first Minister to Charles XII. *ibid.* He is taken prisoner by the *Muscovites*, 232.

Roos, a Swedish Major-General, his fault in engaging improperly between the *Muscovite* redoubts at the battle of *Pultowa*, 227. He is taken prisoner, 237.

S.

S *Chlippenback*, a Swedish Major-General, taken prisoner by the Russians at the battle of *Pultowa*, 237.

Sythians, European, what country they inhabit, 255. Their manner of living, *ibid.* and 266.

Sca, *Black*, why so called, 277.

Severia, the great fertility of that country, 193.

Sleep, of an uncommon kind, found in the Desert of *Dzike Pole*, 251.

Siegroth, a Swedish Colonel, kill'd at the battle of *Pultowa*, 236.

Sittman,

- Sittman*, Baron, formerly Lieutenant-Colonel, and Aid-de-Camp General to the King of *Prussia*, and now Privy-Counsellor to the Duke of *Wurtemberg*, follows the army of *Charles XII.* as a volunteer, 243.
- Skoropetski*, Colonel, obtains the government of the city of *Starodub*, 192. Discovers to the Czar the alliance which *Mazeppa* had made with the King of *Sweden*, and why, 211. He introduces the *Russian* troops into *Starodub*, and the other cities, which, according to the convention made with *Charles XII.* ought to be put in possession of the *Swedes*, 212.
- Smolensko*, a great wood near it filled with marshes, which reach as far as the city of *Mosako*, 191.
- Solitude Getarum*. See the *Tartary* of *Akerman*, 272.
- Stakelberg*, General, taken prisoner, 237.
- Stanislaus*, King, endeavours to win over the *Poles*, which, under the name of Confederates, yet opposed him in several Provinces, 195.
- Stiernbock*, a *Swedish* Colonel, is killed at the battle of *Pultowa*, 236.
- Sweden*, what forces it had in 1708, 197, & 199, &c.

T.

- T***artars*, inhabiting the Desert call'd of old *Solitude Getarum*. See *Tartary-Akerman*.
- Tartars*, who eat horse-flesh, 250.
- Tartary-Akerman*, the Desert of, its extent, 272. Its inhabitants, *ibid.* Their manner of living, *ibid.* Their habitations, *ibid.* Their food, *ibid.* Locusts found there, 276.
- Torstenfon*, *Leonard*, Field-Marshal of the *Swedish* armies, during the war in *Germany*, 236.
- Torstenfon*, Count, greatly distinguishes himself at the battle of *Pultowa*, 231. He is killed, 232. His Eulogium, 236.
- Tourk*, the name which the *Cossagues* give to their long muskets, 222.
- Turks*, send provisions to the King of *Sweden*, encamp'd on the banks of the *Bog*, 257. Not so barbarous as describ'd, 259.
- Twer*, great woods found between that Duchy and *Novogrod*, 191.

U. V.

- U***lfsparre*, a *Swedish* Colonel, kill'd at the battle of *Pultowa*, 237.
- Ukrain*, can both nourish its own inhabitants, and spare great quantities of provisions to its neighbours, 255.
- Voltaire*, Mr. *de*, a mistake of his corrected, 253.
- W. Waggon,

W.

W Aggons us'd by the *Turks*, 266.

Weydenheim, a *Swedish* Colonel, killed at the battle of *Pultowa*, 237.

Wieprik, a mean town, assaulted by the King of *Sweden*, and oblig'd to surrender at discretion, 215.

Winter, a severe one, felt in the *Ukrain*, beginning some days before *Christmas* in 1708, 214.

Witbsold, Great Duke of *Lithuania*, defeated by *Ediga*, one of *Tamerlane's* Generals, 228.

Wolf, a huge one, passes thro' the midst of the *Swedish* troops, 254.

Württemberg, Prince of, his bravery at the battle of *Pultowa*, 232. He is taken prisoner by the *Muscovites*, *ibid.*

Woods, lying between the Dutchies of *Twer* and *Novogrod*, 191. Others filled with marshes that extend from *Smolensko* almost as far as the city of *Mosako*, *ibid.*

F I N I S.



